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Tracts on Listening to Music

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND

NEW SERIES,

VOL. XXXIV.

TRACTS ON LISTENING TO MUSIC

Being

Dhamm al-malāhī by Ibn abī 'l-Dunyā and
Bawāriq al-ilmā' by Majd al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazālī

Edited with

Introduction, Translation, and Notes

BY

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PREFACE

The present volume presents two Arabic works which, though vastly different in style and outlook, deal with the same general subject. One roundly condemns music and the other approves of it.

In dealing with Ibn abī 'l-Dunyā's work, I have made use of only the Berlin manuscript, although three manuscripts of which I have knowledge are mentioned on page 17. My friend, Mr. A. S. Fulton, very kindly made inquiries for me about the Damascus manuscript while on a visit to that city, but discovered that it was out on loan and so was not available. The existence of the Istanbul copy came to my knowledge only when Brockelmann's Supplementband referring to it was published, and by that time the copy was in the printer's hands.

After the copy had all been set up, Brockelmann's Supplementband (i, 756) containing references to the works of Majd al-Dīn was published, and I was surprised to find that *Bawāriq al-ilmā'* is there stated to have been published in Lucknow in 1317 A.H. along with Ibn Zaghūdūn's *Farah al-asmā'*. I immediately made inquiries about this book, but have been unable to obtain a copy. From the description, it seems probable that Majd al-Dīn's work appears in the margin, and therefore does not make the present text superfluous.

My grateful thanks are due to Dr. Henry G. Farmer, who drew my attention to the two works contained in this volume, and very kindly lent me rotograph copies of the two Berlin

manuscripts. To Professor R. A. Nicholson, whom I consulted regarding the poetical passages, I am greatly indebted. I wrote to him as a complete stranger, and was charmed by the cordiality of his reply and the readiness with which he threw light on my difficulties.

Finally, I owe a deep debt of gratitude to the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society for making it possible for me to have this book published.

J. R.

GLASGOW.

November, 1937.

I

INTRODUCTION

THE question of the lawfulness of listening to music has been the subject of long controversy among Muslims, a controversy, it would seem, which can never be settled. Very naturally both parties apply to the Qur'ān and Tradition to support their views, as these are fundamental bases of Islām.

Al-Nuwairī (d. 732/1332) has made a collection of verses from the Qur'ān quoted by opponents of audition (*samā'*).¹ They are: xxiii, 1-3, "The believers who are humble in their prayers and who turn aside from vain talk are prosperous"; xxv, 72, "And those who do not bear false witness, and when they pass idle talk, pass honourably"; xxviii, 55, "And when they hear vain talk, they turn away from it"; xxxi, 5, "And among men are those who buy sportive talk to lead astray from Allāh's path without knowledge, and make a mock of it. Those will have a shameful punishment"; xvii, 66 (spoken by Allāh to Iblīs), "And excite those of them whom you can with your voice"; liii, 59-61, "Do you wonder at this talk? And do you laugh and not weep, while you are amusing yourselves (*sāmidūna*)?" Ibn 'Abbās and Mujāhid are quoted as saying that *sāmidūna* means that they were singing.

Al-Qushairī (d. 465/1072) quotes some verses to uphold the lawfulness of music. They are: xxxix, 19, "Give glad tidings to my servants who listen to the word and follow the best of it"; xxx, 14, "And they in a garden shall be glad" (*yaḥbibrūna*, which is interpreted as meaning that they will listen)²; xxxv, 1, "He adds in the creation what He pleases." This is interpreted as referring to the beautiful

¹ *Nihāyat al-arab*, iv, 133.

² *Risāla*, p. 178.

voice. Reference is also made to xxxi, 18, "The most disagreeable of voices is the voice of asses,"¹ the argument evidently being that dislike of one type of sound involves liking for others.²

These verses are very indefinite, so those who would support their views by reference to the Qur'ān are forced to give a special interpretation to the verses they quote.

When they turn to Tradition they have more scope, for it contains material which supports both parties. For example, opponents of music can quote 'Ā'isha³ as saying that the Prophet prohibited singing-girls,⁴ while the other party can quote traditions which tell how Muḥammad listened to two singing-girls in 'Ā'isha's house.⁵ Those who oppose music are generally content to make their quotations and ignore the other party's arguments, while those who favour it take up the arguments used against them and criticize the validity⁶ or interpretation⁷ of the traditions quoted against music.

The opponents of music receive valuable support from the schools of canon law. They say that the four Sunnī *imāms* disapproved of music,⁸ but stories are told which suggest that Abū Ḥanīfa,⁹ Mālik,¹⁰ and Al-Shāfi'ī¹¹ appreciated it. The doctors who elaborated the laws of the schools, however, generally pronounce against it. For example, the *Hidāya*, a Ḥanafī law book, says that professional wailing-women and singing-women, people who sing to the accompaniment of the pandore (*ṭanbūr*), or sing in public, are persons whose

¹ Ibid., p. 180.

² Cf. Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj, *Kuṭāb al-Luma'*, 273 f.

³ Muḥammad's favourite wife.

⁴ Quoted by Al-Ghazālī, *JRAS.* (1901), p. 244. Ibn abī 'l-Dunyā gives it on the authority of Abū Ūmāma (see p. 23).

⁵ Al-Bukhārī, *ʿĪdān*, 2.

⁶ Al-Nuwairī, op. cit., pp. 149 ff.

⁷ *JRAS.* (1901), pp. 244 ff.

⁸ Al-Nuwairī, op. cit., pp. 134 f.; *JRAS.* (1901), 201, 202, 204.

⁹ *Iqd*, iv, 96.

¹⁰ Al-Qushairī, *Risāla*, 179; *Aghānī*, iv, 39; *Iqd*, iv, 93; *Al-Luma'*, 276.

¹¹ Al-Qushairī, *Risāla*, 180.

testimony is not accepted.¹ Al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277), a Shāfi'ī doctor, prohibits instruments which excite the hearers to partake of forbidden drinks. He allows a tambourine (*duff*) at a wedding, a circumcision, or on festive occasions, but says that the *kūba* ² must never be played. He allows the song of the camel drivers, but prohibits every other kind of unaccompanied singing.³ He also holds that it is lawful to break instruments of music without incurring any liability.⁴ Shi'a law is also strict. Even chanting the Qur'ān to excite pleasure places one among those whose testimony is not accepted. The tambourine is tolerated at a wedding or circumcision, but even this is blameworthy.⁵ No profit must be made from singing, or bewailing the dead.⁶

An interesting aspect of the controversy is that both parties can apply to dreams in which the Prophet appeared. Tradition says, "He who sees me (i.e. Muḥammad) in a dream has seen me, for the devil does not take my form; and a believer's vision is a forty-sixth part of prophecy."⁷ It is therefore natural that people should believe in such dreams, but it is rather perplexing to find that they contradict one another. Mimshād al-Dīnawarī (d. 299/912) was told by Muḥammad in a dream that he did not at all disapprove of listening to music.⁸ On the other hand, Al-Qushairī tells of some unnamed person who heard Muḥammad in a dream saying, "The mistake is greatest in this," the reference being to audition.⁹

The real source of the dispute is obviously the fact that

¹ *Hidāyah* (Calcutta), iii, 376.

² A drum narrow at the middle and wide at the ends. It was forbidden because it was used by the *mukhannathūn* who had a bad reputation. Cf. *JRAS.* (1901), 213, 237.

³ *Minhāj*, p. 515.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 200. Cf. *Al-Fakhri*, p. 115, where there is a story of the Caliph Al-Manṣūr breaking a pandore (*ṭanbūr*).

⁵ Querry, *Droit Musulman*, ii, 455.

⁶ *Ibid.*, i, 359.

⁷ Al-Bukhārī, *Ta'bir al-ru'ya*, 10.

⁸ Al-Nābulusi, *Idāh al-dalā'il*, p. 67.

⁹ *Risāla*, p. 186.

music very often had evil associations, such as wine drinking, immorality, and neglect of religious duties ; therefore many declared it unlawful. Their reasons must be respected, as they were serious men who deplored the influences which led the young astray. Their attitude was that of puritans in all ages, who feel that worldly pleasure must have no place in life. The other party also included men who recognized the dangers of music and were careful to point out that a general declaration of its lawfulness cannot be made. But they had the insight to recognize that the evil associations were not an essential part of music, and therefore they permitted it to those who could enjoy it without wrongdoing.¹

The mystics have a special interest in music, looking on it more as a spiritual exercise than an art. It has a powerful influence which may be used for spiritual purposes. It is said that "the temperaments of all living creatures are composed of sounds and melodies blended and harmonized".² Al-Hujwiri (d. c. 465/1072) tells of an instrument which he calls *angalyūn*, used by Greek doctors in hospitals to cure the sick ; but it is said that if a patient were forced to listen to it too long, it would kill him. The doctors, however, are not so affected, "because it is consonant with their

¹ Cf. *Kashf al-mahjūb*, p. 402 ; *JRAS.* (1901), pp. 212 ff. ; Al-Nābulusi, op. cit., pp. 42, 75, 80 ff. I am indebted to Dr. Henry G. Farmer for a reference to the Rev. J. W. Matmeeken's *History of the Scottish Metrical Psalms*, pp. 98 ff., where an extract is given from Calvin's introduction to the Genevan Psalter of 1543. He says (p. 99), "But amongst other things which are suitable for the recreation of men, and for yielding them pleasure, music is either the first, or one of the chief, and we must esteem it a gift of God bestowed for that end. Therefore, by so much the more, we ought to see that it is not abused, for fear of soiling and contaminating it ; turning that to our condemnation which was given for our profit and good. Even were there no other consideration than this alone, it ought to move us to regulate the use of music, so as to make it subservient to all good morals, and that it should not give occasion for loosing the bridle of dissoluteness, that it should not lead to voluptuousness, nor be the instrument of immodesty and impurity." This is essentially the same argument as that used by Al-Ghazālī and other Muslims, who hold that music is lawful.

² *Kashf al-mahjūb*, 399.

temperaments.”¹ This overwhelming power of music is represented in many tales of people fainting or dying on hearing a song.² Al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), speaking of the value of music, says that a philosopher declared, “There is in the heart a glorious excellency; the force of speech is not able to elicit it with words, but the soul can do it with melodies.”³ Abū Sulaimān al-Dārānī (d. 215/830) said, “The beautiful voice does not introduce anything into the heart; it simply stirs in the heart what is in it.”⁴

This natural tendency to be stirred by music makes it necessary for one to be careful, because music may have an evil origin. Al-Hujwīrī tells how Abū'l-Hārith Bunānī was one night charmed by audition; but when the shaiikh informed him in the morning that he was Iblīs and that the company was composed of his children, explaining that he did this to bewail his separation from God and to lead holy men astray, Bunānī resolved to have nothing more to do with audition.⁵ That charming music may have a diabolic origin is also indicated in a story of Ibrāhīm al-Mauṣilī (d. 188/804), who declared that three songs with which he delighted Hārūn al-Rashīd on one occasion had been taught him by Iblīs.⁶ Al-Hujwīrī tells how Al-Ashqānī once saw naked demons dancing among the members of a party assembled for audition.⁷ Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996) tells of a shaiikh who saw Al-Khaḍir⁸ and asked him what he had to say about audition. He replied, “It is the slippery stone on which only the feet of the learned stand fast.”⁹

¹ Ibid., 407.

² Cf. ‘*Iqd*, iv, 125 ff.; Al-Qushairī, *Risāla*, 184; *Kashf al-mahjūb*, 396, 409 f.; *Al-Luma'*, 285 ff., 289; *JRAS.* (1901), 735 ff.

³ Ibid., 721.

⁴ Al-Qushairī, *Risāla*, 185.

⁵ *Kashf al-mahjūb*, 411 f.

⁶ *Aghānī*, v, 36 ff.

⁷ *Kashf*, 412.

⁸ A legendary figure mentioned in Qur. xviii, 59 ff. See *Enc. of Islām*, ii, 861 ff.

⁹ *Qūt al-qulūb*, iii, 90.

Thus very definite advice is given regarding those who should practise audition. Al-Makkī says that if any carnal passion is stirred, audition is forbidden; if one listens to one's wife or slave girl it is doubtful, as this may be mere amusement; but if one seeks spiritual enlightenment it is lawful.¹ Abū 'Alī al-Daqqāq (d. 406/1015) said, "Audition is forbidden to the commonalty on account of carnal desire remaining in them, allowable to the ascetics for the attainment of what they strive after, approved for the mystics for the life of their hearts."² There is fairly general agreement that audition is dangerous for novices. Al-Juna'id (d. 297/910) said, "When you see a novice fond of audition, know that there is a remnant of idleness in him."³ The suggestion is that he is trying to attain the highest grade of illumination without taking the trouble to fight against carnal desires and rise through the various stations through which the mystic should pass. Al-Hujwīrī feels that there is a moral danger in their presence at audition, as women often look on, and young reprobates may join the company.⁴ Elsewhere he says there is a danger of "having their passions violently roused and their virtue corrupted".⁵ Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj (d. 378/988) allows a novice to listen, provided he is directed by a *shaiikh*. He is thus kept from mere amusement, and is preserved from the danger of holding erroneous religious ideas.⁶ Al-Makkī quotes without comment a statement that audition is good only for a gnostic who is firmly established, but not for a novice.⁷ Al-Ghazālī, on the other hand, does not forbid novices to take part in audition, but he issues a warning. He says they cannot understand as much as an advanced mystic, and therefore should apply what they hear only to the states they have reached.⁸ Elsewhere he speaks of audition as helpful to them, as it causes

¹ Ibid., loc. cit.

² Ibid., 183.

³ Ibid., 412.

⁴ *Qūt*, iii, 91.

⁵ Al-Qushairī, *Risāla*, 181.

⁶ *Kashf*, 420.

⁷ *Al-Luma'*, 288.

⁸ *JRAS.* (1901), 709.

them to think seriously of their religious duties.¹ He emphasizes the necessity of having true knowledge to reap the benefit of audition. Those who have not sufficient knowledge of Allāh and His attributes are liable to apply what they hear both to what is allowable and what is not allowable, in which event the harm is greater than the benefit.² Al-Hujwīrī speaks similarly. He says, "You must know that each Ṣūfī has a particular grade in audition and that the feelings which he gains therefrom are proportionate to his grade."³ Abū 'Alī al-Daqqāq says that he who engages in audition must have knowledge of Islām and Allāh's attributes, otherwise he will fall into infidelity.⁴ Abū 'Uthmān al-Ḥirī says novices in audition are liable to claim noble states which are not theirs.⁵ In this he agrees with Al-Sarrāj.⁶ Al-Ghazālī states clearly that "the understanding of what is heard varies with the states of the listener".⁷

The dangers connected with audition have made some feel that it is better left alone. Al-Sarrāj mentions objections to it on the ground that it brings one into association with frivolous people, that it gives no provision for the grave, and that it is not a means of salvation.⁸ Al-Hujwīrī says it should not be made a habit.⁹ There was also a feeling that it was a practice which ought to be outgrown. Al-Kalābādhi (d. 385/995) says that those mystics who enjoy direct experience of Allāh require no such help.¹⁰ This may be related to Al-Hujwīrī's saying that hearing is mediate and immediate. When a reciter is the source of audition, it denotes absence,

¹ Ibid., 706. Majd al-Dīn permits novices to take part in audition. Cf. p. 97.

² JRAS. (1902), p. 3.

³ Kashf, 406.

⁴ Al-Qushairī, *Risāla*, 181.

⁵ Ibid., 182.

⁶ Al-Luma', 277.

⁷ JRAS. (1901), 712.

⁸ Al-Luma', 299 f.

⁹ Kashf, 171, 418 f.; cf. *Futūḥāt*, ii, 366 ff.

¹⁰ *Ta'arruf* (Arberry), 166. Cf. Al-Luma', 300.

but when the audition comes from the Beloved Himself, it denotes presence.¹ Mīmshād al-Dīnawārī said that if all the musical instruments in the world were united in his ear, they would neither distract him nor do him any good.² Al-Hujwīrī's *shaiḥ* said, "Audition is the viaticum of the indigent: one who has reached his journey's end hath no need of it."³ Elsewhere we are told that some avoid audition so as not to lead others astray, others because they fear injury to themselves, and others because they consider it child's play.⁴ Al-Ghazālī also says that some advance to a stage in which they do not need audition.⁵

But while much is said against audition, there is much to be said for it. Al-Sarrāj quotes with approval a saying that he who does not love good audition has a defect.⁶ Al-Hujwīrī says that it is hearing which makes religion obligatory, and so he decides that it has a high place.⁷ Al-Qushairī holds that audition leads one to have a keen desire to please Allāh.⁸ Al-Kalābādhī says music is the food of the spirit, and when the spirit receives its food it turns aside from the government of the body.⁹ Al-Ghazālī quotes words to the effect that audition has a strengthening, cleansing, and directive value.¹⁰ Al-Makkī speaks approvingly of those who have their desire for Allāh quickened, their faith strengthened, and their insight into eternal verities illuminated by audition.¹¹ Dhū'l-Nūn (d. 245/860) said that "audition is a divine influence which stirs the heart to seek God; those who listen to it spiritually attain unto God, and those who listen to it sensually fall into heresy".¹² Al-Junaid said, "Mercy descends on the poor men in audition, for they hear only from truth and speak only from ecstasy."¹³ Al-Ghazālī says that audition

¹ *Kashf*, 405.

² *Kashf*, 405.

³ *JRAS.* (1902), 7 f.

⁴ *Kashf*, 393.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, 167.

⁶ *Qūt*, iii, 91.

⁷ *Ibid.*, loc. cit.; cf. *Qūt*, iii, 90; *Ta'arruf*, 167.

⁸ Al-Qushairī, *Risāla*, 185.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 412 f.

¹⁰ *Al-Luma'*, 272.

¹¹ *Risāla*, 179.

¹² *JRAS.* (1901), 721.

¹³ *Kashf*, 404. Cf. *Risāla*, 181.

reveals things which before were unrevealed. It does this by admonition and by purifying and strengthening the heart.¹ Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 632/1235) says that audition causes the soul to remember its true nature and strive to free itself from the trammels of the flesh.²

The purpose of audition is commonly considered to be the attainment of ecstasy. This may sometimes assume rather a childish aspect, such as that described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 779/1377), where he speaks of the *darwīshes* of the *tarīqa* of Aḥmad al-Rifā'ī kindling a fire, then dancing and rolling over it and eating the burning fuel³; or some of the practices described by Lane in his *Modern Egyptians*.⁴ But earlier writers deal with the subject in a serious manner. Al-Kalābādhī speaks of commotion and movement as being a natural outcome of audition.⁵ Ecstasy may take different forms. Nicholson speaks of Abū Sa'īd (d. 440/1049) and other *darwīshes* circumambulating a tomb, shrieking ecstatically.⁶ On another occasion Abū Sa'īd and his companions fell into transports of ecstasy, and when the call to prayer was made, they refused to respond, insisting that they were actually engaged in prayer.⁷ We are told that Al-Ḥallāj (d. 309/922) danced when ecstasy came upon him.⁸ But the excitement of ecstasy was not always looked on with approval. Al-Hujwīrī suggests that genuine ecstasy is quiescent. He says that beginners are excited because their bodies are opposed to the divine influence, but that after becoming accustomed to it by practice they can receive it quietly.⁹ Elsewhere, however, he suggests the twofold aspect of ecstasy, when he says that it either agitates because of ardent longing, or calms by contemplation.¹⁰ A story is told of Al-Junaid becoming

¹ *JRAS.* (1901), 723.

² Nicholson, *Studies*, 236.

³ *Voyages*, ii, 4 f.

⁴ pp. 410 ff.

⁵ *Ta'arruf*, 167.

⁶ *Studies*, 25.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 60 f.

⁸ *Passion*, 796.

⁹ *Kashf*, 408.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 414. Cf. *Al-Luma'*, 308, where it is said that ecstasy may produce either quiescence or movement. Neither effect can be said to be superior, as it depends on the cause.

exasperated with a youth who was given to shouting when he was stirred, and telling him that they would have to part company if it happened again.¹ But whether ecstasy manifested itself by commotion or quiescence, it was looked on as the purpose of audition; and therefore, while some say that one must wait till it comes as an overpowering influence, there are others who say that it may be induced. Al-Ghazālī says that everything must be learned by effort, and that this applies to ecstasy.² Provided one is sincere, what at first comes by effort will later become natural. In this he agrees with Al-Hujwīrī.³

There are different opinions regarding the most suitable medium for audition. Some hold that recitation of the Qur'ān is most effective. Al-Hujwīrī says it is most beneficial to the mind and most delightful to the ear; one never grows weary of it.⁴ Al-Makkī says listening to the Qur'ān is lawful, listening to singing unlawful, listening to odes of a religious nature doubtful.⁵ But others found poetry more effective. Yūsuf ibn al-Ḥusain al-Rāzī was once deeply stirred on hearing a verse of poetry, and it disturbed him to think that he had been reading the Qur'ān for hours without any such emotion.⁶ Al-Sarrāj expresses the novel view that the preference for poetry set to music really shows respect for the Qur'ān, as it is of divine origin, and therefore cannot be adorned by music, which is of human origin.⁷ Al-Ghazālī deals with the matter at length, giving reasons why poetry may be more effective than the Qur'ān. Among them he says that the very familiarity of the words of the Qur'ān may make them lose their force, whereas some unfamiliar verse of poetry may stir the heart.⁸ The value of poetry was recognized, and in assemblies for audition both the Qur'ān and poetry have commonly been used.

¹ *Risāla*, 184.

² *Kaṣṣf*, 415 f.

³ *Qūt*, i, 118.

⁴ *Al-Luma'*, 283 f.

⁵ *JRAS.* (1901), 730 f.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 394.

⁷ *Risāla*, 184; *Al-Luma'*, 291 f.

⁸ *JRAS.* (1901), 738 f.

Al-Junaid said that audition must have the time, the place, and the brethren.¹ By these words he meant that the advantages of audition are attained in favourable circumstances and among like-minded people. When people assemble there should be a *shaiikh* to direct the proceedings.² This is meant to ensure that everything is done decently and in order. When the brethren gather, they must concentrate on the matter in hand, neither paying attention to what happens to other members of the company nor wondering what others are thinking of them.³ They must be careful not to disturb anyone, or to think of the externals of the occasion. Thus it is wrong for anyone to compliment the singer on the high quality of his singing, or to criticize him if it seems poor.⁴ One must think only of Allāh, for He is the one whom they seek in their audition.

It is thus seen that the mystics have taken an intermediate position between men like Ibn abī'l-Dunyā who condemn music root and branch, and those who practise it as an art. They are not interested in it for its own sake and are inclined to condemn it when employed for mere sensual enjoyment. But they contest ardently with those who declare all music unlawful, for they recognize that it has a power to stir the heart which, if rightly directed, may lead to great spiritual exaltation.⁵

Ibn abī'l-Dunyā, as is seen from his tract on instruments of diversion, is not content with condemning music; he condemns various games and pleasures. He is on sure ground in his condemnation of gambling, as in this he follows Qur'ānic teaching.⁶ He has also good authority for his denunciation

¹ *Risāla*, 181.

² *Kashf*, 419.

³ *JRAS.* (1902), 3 f.

⁴ *Kashf*, 419.

⁵ For further information on the general subject of audition, see *Enc. of Islām*, iv, 120 f.; Farmer, *History*, 22 ff.; *JRAS.* (1933), 867 ff. (1935), 340; Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, 63 ff.

⁶ Qur. ii, 216; v, 92 f.

of backgammon (*nard*),¹ a game which is generally prohibited, because it was always associated with gambling. But he does not have the same support in his condemnation of chess.² This game was sometimes played for a stake, and in such circumstances is disapproved; but generally it is considered lawful provided there is no stake, neglect of prayer, or false swearing connected with it.³ On children's games which involve gambling he takes a non-committal attitude, mentioning views both for and against. He may have inclined to Al-Ḥasan's opinion which he quotes, that children are too young to be subject to religious duties.⁴

He condemns the flying of pigeons without giving any reason, possibly because the wrongfulness of the practice was generally recognized. The *Hidāya* condemns it because it produces negligence, and because those engaged in it do it on the roofs of their houses, and so sometimes see the women on neighbouring roofs.⁵

The condemnation of killing animals with clay bullets is

¹ See the relative passage in the trans. of Ibn abī'l-Dunyā's *Censure of Instruments of Diversion*, with references noted there, and *Enc. of Islām*, ii, 1009.

² Ibn Qutaiba, *Al-ma'sir wa'l-qidāh*, 36 f., says that backgammon is to be prohibited because it consists of gambling. While he does not approve of chess, because it makes people neglect religious duties and is played in private, a practice which suggests something evil, he does not feel that it can be prohibited.

³ Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, ii, 1009; iv, 338. Al-Nawawī (*Minhāj*, 515) includes habitual chess-players among people wanting in seriousness. The *Hidāya* (iii, 377) says that those who gamble at backgammon and chess, or are so engrossed in them that they neglect prayer, are people whose testimony is not accepted. But it adds that the game of chess itself is lawful. Shī'a law, however (Querry, ii, 454 f.), forbids both chess and backgammon, even as pastimes.

⁴ Al-Jāhiz, *Ḥayawān*, ii, 106, mentions some authorities who considered children's games lawful, even when they included gambling.

⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, iii, 58, where it is said that 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, the third Caliph, would have liked to kill all pigeons, but decided that only those used by youths and tricksters for wagering and gambling, and by people who go on roofs and overlook their neighbours' women's quarters, should be killed.

natural, because no blood is shed, and therefore such animals are not lawful food.¹

Ibn abī'l-Dunyā shows his puritan nature in his tract. He evidently felt that time spent on any pursuit which was not of a serious nature was wasted, and so condemned recreations in general.²

¹ Cf. *Hidāya*, iv, 1147, where this is given as the reason for the condemnation.

² One game which did not exist in Ibn abī'l-Dunyā's time, but which would certainly have earned his disapproval, is cards. The reason for mentioning this is to correct an error in the *Enc. of Islām*, ii, 1009, where it is said that "the Arabs have never taken to them". The present writer can state from personal observation that cards are very popular among the Arabs of the Aden peninsula and the neighbouring village of Shaiikh 'Uṭhmān. Another game popular there is called *dāma*. It is a game of draughts in which each player has sixteen pieces, and is known in this country as Turkish chess. It may be of interest to remark that the present writer once played a game of *dāma* with an Arab at a coffee shop in Shaiikh 'Uṭhmān, but was advised by some Arab friends not to do so again, as it was not looked upon as respectable.

II

IBN ABĪ'L-DUNYĀ

ALTHOUGH Ibn abī'l-Dunyā is among the lesser known Arabic writers, the references to him which have been preserved show that he was generally respected in his own day and that his writings were valued for many centuries after his death.

His full name was Abū Bakr 'Abdallāh¹ ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Ubaid² ibn abī'l-Dunyā al-Qurashī al-Baghdādī. He was born in 208 (823) and died in 281 (894). In his history, Ibn al-Athīr takes each year by itself, and before passing on to the next, he mentions the famous men who died during the year with which he has just dealt. When he speaks of the year 281, Ibn abī'l-Dunyā is the only one to be mentioned. The notice says, "In it died 'Ubaidallāh ibn abī'l-Dunyā, the writer of the many famous compositions."³

He was tutor to the Caliph Al-Mu'taḍid⁴ and to this Caliph's son, Al-Muktafī.⁵ Thus he had influence in the highest circles. But his manner of life was not affected by such exalted connections. He lived a retired life devoted to religion and to study, and looked with displeasure on worldly amusements.

¹ Ḥājji Khalifa, who mentions a number of his works, always gives this form. Cf. iii, 336, iv, 410, etc. The *Fihrist* (Cairo edit.), p. 262, and Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī'l-ta'rīkh*, vii, 155, give 'Ubaidallāh. A Wiener, in *Der Islam* (1913), p. 279, suggests that the name may have been changed from 'Abdallāh to 'Ubaidallāh under the influence of the name of his grandfather, 'Ubaid, which follows. On the other hand, it may be reasonably argued that the shortening of 'Ubaidallāh is more probable than the lengthening of 'Abdallāh. Brockelmann, in his *Gesch. d. arab. Lit.*, i, 153, gives 'Abdallāh (he says Ibn 'Abdallāh), but in his later article in the *Enc. of Islām*, ii, 355, he gives the longer form in brackets, as an alternative, without comment.

² Wiener, loc. cit., adds Ibn Sufyān ibn Qais.

³ Op. cit., vii, 155.

⁴ Ibn Khallikān (De Slane), i, 531 n.

⁵ *Fihrist* (Cairo), p. 262. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, i, 12.

He was a great student of Tradition, and was quoted by many as an authority. For example, Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-'Arabī (d. 638/1240) quotes a tradition about Al-Ḥasan as coming from the *ḥadīth* of Ibn abī'l-Dunyā.¹ Yāqūt (d. 626/1229) says that Ibn Māja, Ibn abī'l-Dunyā, and others related traditions on the authority of Al-Zubair ibn Bakkār.² Such incidental references suggest that Ibn abī'l-Dunyā was an authority of note.

The *qāḍī* Yūsuf ibn Ya'qūb offered the prayers at Ibn abī'l-Dunyā's funeral, and the distinguished traditionist, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Umar, pronounced the *raḥḥamaka'llāh* (Allāh have mercy on you).³ The fact that such men took part in his funeral ceremonies would indicate the high position held by Ibn abī'l-Dunyā in the estimation of his contemporaries.

Wiener has collected a list of 102 books by Ibn abī'l-Dunyā,⁴ of which only nineteen are extant. Among his books there is a group of seven which are of interest for our present purpose, as they have the common title *ḍhamm* (censure). They are (1) *Ḍhamm al-ḥasad* (censure of envy); (2) *Ḍhamm al-dunyā* (censure of the world); (3) *Ḍhamm al-ghaḍab* (censure of anger); (4) *Ḍhamm al-ghība* (censure of slander); (5) *Ḍhamm al-faḥsh* (censure of obscenity); (6) *Ḍhamm al-muskir* (censure of intoxicants); (7) *Ḍhamm al-malāḥī* (censure of instruments of diversion). Of these (2), (6), and (7) are extant. This group, which includes the MS. about to be translated, indicates his attitude of mind. He was the enemy of things which seemed to him to conflict with religion, and he had no hesitation in making a frontal attack upon them.

¹ *Muḥāḍarāt al-abrār wa musāmarāt al-akhyār*, i, 194.

² *Dictionary of Learned Men*, iv, 218. Cf. also *Qūt al-qulūb*, i, 29, where he is quoted as handing down from the Prophet a tradition giving an interpretation of Qur. xxxii, 16.

³ Wiener, op. cit., p. 280.

⁴ Op. cit., pp. 413-419.

The *Fihrist*¹ mentions a book called *Kitāb al-aṣwāt* (the book of the voices). This work is not extant, but its title suggests that it may have given more light on Ibn abī'l-Dunyā's opinions regarding music.

Among the opponents of music Ibn abī'l-Dunyā deserves notice, as his *ḍhamm al-malāhī* is the earliest book which is known on the subject.

¹ p. 262.

III

DHAMM AL-MALĀHĪ.

THE MS.

THE present text of Ibn abī'l-Dunyā's *Dhamm al-malāhī* is based on a MS. in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek (Ahlwardt, 5504, folios 52b to 61b), from a photographic reproduction kindly supplied by Dr. Henry G. Farmer. It occurs along with a number of treatises on various subjects in the Landberg collection (Lbg. 1019). It is immediately preceded by a *risāla fī'l-samā' wa'l-raḡṣ wa'l-surākh wa'stimā' inshād al-shi'r wa ḡhairihi* (letter on audition, dancing, shouting, and listening to the recitation of poetry, etc.), by Ibn Taimīya (d. 728/1328); and immediately followed by a short anonymous tract entitled *mau'iza fī'l-malāhī* (admonition concerning instruments of diversion). These are all in the same handwriting, and at the end of the last there is a note stating that it was copied in *Dhū'l-Hijja*, 782 (February–March, 1381).

There is a copy of the *Dhamm al-malāhī* in the Zāhiriya in Damascus, mentioned by Ḥabīb al-Zaiyāt in his *khazā'in al-kutub fī Dimashq wa-ḡawāḥihā*, p. 33, No. 59, 2. Brockelmann, in his Supplement, i, 247, mentions another, the reference being *Defteri K. Lāleli*, Stambul, 1310, 3664 (*MO.*, vii, 107; *ZS.*, i, 217).

The Berlin copy is in a very good state of preservation. A blotch obscures part of the word *al-bāṭil* below the middle of F. 55b, and the word *al-lūṭī* at the top of F. 61a. Two words on F. 60b and one on F. 61a are cut short through coming at the end of a line. Reference is made to them in the notes on the text. Otherwise the MS. is generally easily legible, although the copyist is often careless in his writing.

A few peculiarities of the writing may be mentioned here, as they have been changed without comment to the more normal form in the text given below. *Hamza* is generally omitted, especially when it follows a long vowel; e.g. سما for سماء. The omission of *hamza* leads to such a form as ثنائي for ثنائي (F. 58a). Such a word as عائشة always appears as عايشه. The dots on the *tā' marbūṭa* are almost always omitted. The final *yā'*, when representing the sound *ī* or *ai* sometimes has two dots, but more often not. In the text below they are supplied. In names like Ibn 'Abbās, the MS. omits the *alif* of "Ibn". Where there are two ways of spelling a word, e.g. زكوة and زكاة, the form used in the MS. is given. Finally it should be noted that there are some erasures which are indicated by a stroke through part of the word to be erased. Such words are omitted without comment.

IV

DHAMM AL-MALĀHĪ : TRANSLATION

THE book of the censure of instruments of diversion ¹ by F. 52b.
Ibn abī'l-Dunyā.

On the authority of Sahl ibn Sa'd ² (Allāh be pleased with them both!), he said, Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "Among the last of my people there will be swallowing up, pelting, and metamorphosis." ³ It was said, "O, apostle of Allāh, when?" He said, "When the *ma'āzif* and the *qaināt* appear, and wine is considered lawful." The *ma'āzif* are musical instruments (*ālāt al-ṭarab*), ⁴ and the *qaināt* are the singing-girls. And as for the pelting, it is the throwing F. 53a. of stones [from the sky, just as they were sent on Lot's people, some on tribes and some on houses; and they will be sent on them] ⁵ (i.e. the people mentioned in the tradition).


On the authority of Abū Umāma ⁶ (Allāh be pleased with him!) on the authority of Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless

¹ References to this book usually speak of it as *The Censure of Musical Instruments*, but the word *malāhī*, while it came to be applied to musical instruments, has a wider meaning. It comes from the root *lahw* (diversion) and so means "pastimes", or "instruments of diversion". As a considerable part of Ibn abī'l-Dunyā's book is occupied with other amusements than music, he is obviously using the word in the wider sense.

² A Companion of the Prophet who handed down traditions. d. 88 (707) or 91 (710). See Al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmā'*, 306-7. Al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, index.

³ Cf. Al-Tirmidhī, *Fitan*, 21, and Ibn Māja, *Fitan*, 29, where "pelting" and "metamorphosis" are transposed.

⁴ Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, iii, 528, where it is pointed out that, while the word *ma'āzif* in its modern use means "musical instruments", in its earlier use it applied more particularly to stringed instruments. Here it is explained in a sense agreeing with the modern use.

⁵ The words in square brackets are added in the margin followed by the sign  to denote a correction.

⁶ A traditionist. d. 81 (700). Al-Nawawī, op. cit., pp. 651-2. Ibn Sa'd, v, 59-60. Al-Nawawī says that he related 250 traditions of which Al-Bukhārī quoted five and Muslim three.

him, etc.), he said, "Some of this people will spend the night in food, drink, and diversion (*lahw*), then in the morning they will have been metamorphosed into apes and swine¹; and swallowing up and pelting will smite them, so that in the morning people will say, 'So and so's house was swallowed up last night.' 'The Banū so and so were swallowed up last night.' And Allāh will send on them 'the desolating wind'² which destroyed 'Ād for their drinking wine, their devouring usury, their having singing-girls, their wearing silk, and their breach of kinship."

And on the authority of 'Ā'ishā³ (Allāh be pleased with her!), she said, Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "Among my people there will be swallowing up, pelting, and metamorphosis." 'Ā'ishā said, "O apostle of Allāh, while they say, 'There is no god but Allāh'?" He said, "When singing-girls appear, and immorality, drinking of wine, and wearing of silk appear, this will take place among us."

On the authority of 'Alī⁴ (Allāh be pleased with him!), he said, Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "When my people do fifteen things [lit. characteristics], that affliction will alight upon them." It was said, "O, apostle of Allāh, and what are they?" He said, "When the booty is in turns, 53b. and the deposit is booty, and the legal alms is a debt,⁵ and a man obeys his wife, and is undutiful to his mother, and is kind to his friend, and repulses his father, and the voices are raised in the mosques, and the leader of the people is the most ignoble of them, and a man is honoured for fear of his evil, and wine is drunk, and silk is worn, and singing-girls, and stringed instruments (*ma'āzif*) are employed, and

¹ Cf. Qur. v, 65, for the idea of such metamorphosis. A similar tradition occurs in Ibn Māja, ii, 254.

² Cf. Qur. li, 41.

³ Wife of the Prophet. d. 58 (678). See *Enc. of Islām*, i, 216-17.

⁴ Son-in-law of the Prophet and fourth Caliph. d. 40 (661). See *Enc. of Islām*, i, 283-5. The tradition which follows is given, with a number of verbal changes, by Al-Tirmidhī, *Fitan*, 38.

⁵ Cf. Qur. ix, 99.

the last of this people curses the first of it, then at that time let them expect three [afflictions], a destructive wind, being swallowed up, and metamorphosis.”

The shaiḫ¹ (Allāh have mercy on him!) said, I said, His saying ‘When the booty is in turns’: i.e. the princes and kings get hold of the spoils and control them successively among themselves, and do not divide them among the soldiery who took them. And ‘The deposit is booty’: i.e. the people, because of their treachery, come to reckon the riches with which they are entrusted as spoil which they seize. One is entrusted with a deposit, or made an executor, or appointed to a guardianship. The trusty one dislikes such a thing, because his soul has distress in it; but the faithless one likes it, because he considers it a profit and a booty which has sped to him. ‘And the legal alms is a debt’: i.e. the rich people of that time have no intention in the seeking of reward when they produce the legal alms on their goods, and they produce them only by compulsion on the part of the sultān, or out of hypocrisy before men²; so they reckon F. 54a. its expenditure a debt with which they are saddled, not a reward which they have sent before them. His saying, ‘And is kind to his friend and repulses his father.’ He blamed them only for kindness to their friends, but it was not out of relationship; it was out of love between them only in the life of this world. And if that kindness had been purely for the sake of Allāh, he would not have been repulsing his father.

And on the authority of Abū Huraira³ (Allāh be pleased with him!), he said, Allāh’s apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, “In the last time some of this people will be metamorphosed into apes and swine.” They said, “O, apostle of Allāh, they testify that there is no god but Allāh, and that Muḥammad is Allāh’s apostle.” He said, “Yes, indeed, and

¹ i.e. the author.

² Cf. Qur. ii, 266; iv, 42.

³ One of the most frequently quoted authorities for traditions. d. 57 or 58 (676-8). See *Enc. of Islām*, i, 93-4.

they fast, pray, and perform the pilgrimage." They said, "Then what is the matter with them?" He said, "They have employed stringed instruments, tambourines (*dufūf*), and singing-girls, and spent the night at their drinking and their diversion, so in the morning they will have been metamorphosed into apes and swine."¹

And on the authority of Ṣāliḥ ibn Khālīd² who traced that back to the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.), he was saying, "Some of my people will consider silk, wine, and stringed instruments lawful; and Allāh will come with a mountain upon people of them who are present until He casts it upon them, and others will be metamorphosed into apes and swine."

F. 54b. And on the authority of Jubair ibn Nufair,³ he said, Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "Verily the earth will be difficult for its people, so that there will be on its surface neither townspeople nor nomads, and the last of this people will be afflicted with trembling. Then if they repent, Allāh will forgive them; but if they return, Allāh will turn against them with trembling, pelting, metamorphosis, and thunderbolts."

His saying, "The earth will be difficult for its people": i.e. the earth, on account of the violence of the earthquakes and the abundance of the terrors, will remain like the back of an intractable camel on which neither rider nor load can settle without its throwing it off, so that there will not be on its surface people of a house who are united, whose affair is in order, without their being scattered and separated by being killed and taken prisoner and by oppression and being smitten and such like of the things which separate companies and empty camps. And he who considers this time of ours

¹ For a tradition resembling this in some respects, but on different authority, see Al-Bukhārī, *Ashribā*, 6.

² I have found no reference to this man. He may possibly have been a son of Khālīd ibn al-Walīd (d. 21/641-2).

³ He was Jubair ibn Nufair al-Ḥaḍramī, who became a Muslim during the Caliphate of Abū Bakr, and was quoted as an authority on tradition. d. 80 (699).

will find that this has become abundant among this its people.

On the authority of Ṣuḥār,¹ he said, Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "The last hour will not come before some tribes are swallowed up, and it is said they are of the Banū so and so."

And Abū Huraira (Allāh be pleased with him!) used to say, "The last hour will not come before two men go to a matter which they are undertaking and one of them is metamorphosed into an ape or a swine; and the one of them who escaped what he saw happen to his companion will not be prevented from going to that affair of his so as to accomplish his desire respecting it; or before two men go to a matter and engage in it and one of them is swallowed up, and the one of them who escaped what he saw happen to his companion will not be prevented from going to that affair of his so as to accomplish his desire respecting it." ² F. 55a,

And Mālik ibn Dīnār ³ said, "I have heard that there will be a violent wind in the last time, so people will flee to their learned ones and find that they have been metamorphosed."

On the authority of Abū Umāma, he said, Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "Allāh has forbidden the singing-girl and selling her and her price and teaching her and listening to her." ⁴ Then he recited His saying (exalted is He) "Among

¹ The *Fihrist* (Cairo ed.), p. 132, calls him Ṣuḥār ibn al-'Abbās al-'Abdī, and says he was a genealogist and preacher in the time of Mu'āwiya ibn abī Sufyān (first Umayyad Caliph, d. 60/680). He related a few traditions on the authority of the Prophet, and wrote *Kitāb al-amṭhāl* (Book of Proverbs). Ibn Sa'd, v, 409-410; vii, i, 61-2, state merely that the Prophet told him wine was forbidden.

² Reminiscent of Matthew xxiv, 40; Luke xvii, 34-6.

³ Mālik ibn Dīnār (d. 131/749) was an authority on tradition who did not relate many traditions. He was noted for his learning, asceticism, and piety. Ibn Sa'd, vii, ii, 11; Ibn Khallikān (De Slane), ii, 549-551.

⁴ Al-Qhazālī *JRAS.* (1901), 244-5, quotes this tradition on the authority of 'Ā'isha, and says that it applies to singing-girls who sing where there is drinking, and to strange women who sing to men of dissolute life; but not to a girl who sings to her master, or who sings in circumstances where there is no temptation. He adds that the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* speak of the Prophet

men are those who buy sportive talk".¹ Then he said, "By Allāh, it is singing and things like that."

And Ibn Mas'ūd² said. "Singing makes hypocrisy grow in the heart as water makes the seed grow."³ And from him, he said, Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "Singing makes hypocrisy grow in the heart as water makes vegetables grow."⁴

And on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās⁵ (Allāh be pleased with him!) concerning His saying (exalted is He), "And you are amusing yourselves,"⁶ he said, "It is singing in the Ḥimyarite language: *usmud lanā* means 'sing to us'." He means that it was the language of Ḥimyar of the people of Al-Yaman. When they ordered the singer to sing to them, F. 55b. they said *usmud lanā*.

listening to the singing of two girls in 'Ā'isha's house (cf. Al-Bukhārī, 'Īdāin, 2). Al-Nābulusī (op. cit., p. 41) makes the same quotation and adds that those who prohibit all singing-girls are guilty of finding fault with the Prophet.

¹ Qur. xxxi, 5. The quotation should be extended, as the verse adds "to lead astray from Allāh's path". Al-Ghazālī (op. cit., 245), in dealing with this verse, says that all singing is not an exchange for religion.

² One of the first converts to Islām and one of those to whom the Prophet promised Paradise. d. 32 or 33 (652-4). He was a traditionist and an authority on the Qur'ān. See *Enc. of Islām*, ii, 403-4.

³ Al-Ghazālī (op. cit., pp. 248-9) and Al-Nābulusī (op. cit., p. 41) mention this tradition. Al-Ghazālī says that hypocrisy grows in the singer and not in the listener. Certain lawful practices produce hypocrisy, such as the wearing of adornments, but that does not make them unlawful. Therefore this tradition cannot mean that singing is unlawful.

⁴ Al-Ghazālī (op. cit., p. 248) says that this form of the tradition is not sound.

⁵ 'Abdallāh ibn al-'Abbās, a cousin of the Prophet. He was an authority on tradition, jurisprudence, and the Qur'ān. d. 69 or 70 (688-690). See *Enc. of Islām*, i, 19-20.

⁶ Qur. liii, 61. Al-Baiḍāwī, in his commentary on this verse, says that *samidūna* either means that they are proud, because the verb *samada* is used of a camel walking with its head up; or that they are singing to keep people from listening to Allāh's message, because *sumūd* means "singing".

Al-Ghazālī (op. cit., 245-6) argues that if this verse condemns singing, it also condemns laughter and lack of weeping. If it is said that it condemns laughter against Muslims, it may be replied that this is the only kind of singing it condemns. Cf. Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, p. 15.

And Ibn Mas'ūd said, "When a man rides a beast without mentioning Allāh (exalted is He), the devil rides behind him. He says to him, 'Sing'; then if he does not do it well, he says to him, 'Do obeisance.'"

On the authority of Abū Umāma (Allāh be pleased with him!) that the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "No one raises his voice in song without Allāh sending him two devils who sit on his shoulders, kicking his breast with their heels till he stops."¹

And Ibn 'Umar² passed some people in pilgrim garb among whom was a man who was singing, and said, "O may Allāh not listen to you! O may Allāh not listen to you!" And he passed a young girl who was singing and said, "If He abandoned anyone, He would abandon this girl."

A man asked Al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad³ about singing and he said, "I forbid you from it and make it abhorrent to you." He said, "Is it unlawful?" He said, "Look, O son of my brother; when Allāh distinguishes the truth from what is vain, in which of them will He put singing?"⁴

Al-Sha'bī⁵ said, "Allāh curse the singer and the one who is sung to!"

It is said that there was a man who spent much time in

¹ Al-Nābulusī (op. cit., 41) mentions this tradition in speaking of the arguments adduced by opponents of music.

² 'Abdallāh ibn 'Umar, son of the second Caliph. He was a Companion of the Prophet, and a trustworthy authority on tradition. d. 73 (693). See *Enc. of Islām*, i, 28-9. Add to the references given there Ibn Sa'd, iv, i, 105-138.

³ A grandson of Abū Bakr, the first Caliph. He was one of the most eminent of the Followers and was reckoned among the seven great jurists of Al-Madina. Mālik said that he was one of the great jurisconsults of the Muslims. d. 101 or 102 (719-721), or 108 (726-7), or 112 (730-1). Ibn Sa'd, v, 139-143. Ibn Khallikān (De Slane), ii, 485-6.

⁴ Al-Qūshairī, *Risāla*, 179, tells how Ibn Juraij (d. between 149 and 151/766-8) was asked a similar question, and replied that his listening to music would be placed neither among his good deeds nor his evil deeds, meaning that it was one of the things which are permitted.

⁵ Abū 'Amr 'Āmir ibn Sharāḥīl ibn 'Amr al-Sha'bī. He was a trustworthy authority on tradition. The imām Abū Ḥanīfa was among his pupils. d. not later than 110 (728). See *Enc. of Islām*, iv, 242-3.

the mosque, then abandoned it and took a singing-girl with whom he amused himself to the neglect of the mosque. Then one of his brethren wrote to him, saying, "Consider, my brother, from what you have gone out and into what you have entered, towards whom you have turned and who has turned towards you, and from whom you have turned away
F. 56a. and who has turned away from you. For if you consider well, you will know that you have gone out from the light and entered the darkness, and have turned away from Allāh and Allāh has turned away from you."

‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-Azīz¹ wrote to his sons’ tutor, "Take the course prescribed by harshness, for it is more of a protection for their advancement; and by abandoning morning sleep (*ṣabḥa*), for its practice acquires negligence; and by scantiness of laughter, for abundance of it slays the heart.² And let the first thing which they acquire from your training be the hatred of instruments of diversion, whose origin is from the devil and whose outcome is the anger of the Merciful. For I have heard from the authorities, viz. the learned, that having recourse to stringed instruments and listening to songs and devotion to them both [i.e. the practices just mentioned] produces hypocrisy in the heart as water produces herbage. And let each boy of them begin with a portion³ (*juz*’) of the Qur’ān [and] let him be established in reciting it. Then when he has finished it he may take his arrows and his bow and go out barefoot to the target and shoot seven arrows. Then he may go for the siesta, for Ibn Mas‘ūd used to say, 'My sons, take a siesta, for the devils do not take a siesta.'"⁴ His saying *al-ṣabḥa*, from which he forbade them, is sleeping after daybreak.

¹ An Umayyad Caliph noted for his piety. d. 101 (720).

² Cf. Ibn Māja, *Zuhd*, 19; *Al-‘iqd al-farīd*, ii, 130.

³ The Qur’ān is divided into thirty portions, each of which is called a *juz*’. This provides a daily portion for people who wish to read the whole Qur’ān in a month. But here the word is most probably used in a general sense.

⁴ Cf. *Qūt al-qulūb*, i, 61.

Yazīd ibn al-Walīd¹ said, "O, Umayyads, avoid singing, F. 56*l* for it decreases shame, increases desire, and destroys manliness, and verily it takes the place of wine and does what drunkenness does. But if you must engage in it, keep the women and children away from it, for singing is the instigator of fornication."

Al-Fuḍail ibn 'Iyāḍ² said, "Singing is the amulet of fornication."

Rāfi' ibn Ḥafṣ al-Madanī³ said, "There are four on whom Allāh will not look on the Day of Resurrection, the sorceress, the wailing-woman, the singing-woman, and the woman who is unfaithful to her husband. Prolonged grief is most fitting for him who reaches that time."

'Alī ibn al-Ḥusain⁴ said, "A handmaid in whom is the *barbaṭ*," meaning playing on the lute,⁵ "is not declared pure."

On the authority of Zaid ibn 'Alī,⁶ he said, A man said, "O, apostle of Allāh, when is the [last] hour?" Then Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) rebuked him until [when] he prayed the dawn prayer, he lifted his head to the sky and said, "Blessed is Allāh, its Creator, and its Raiser, and its Changer, and its Folder 'like the folding of the scroll of the book'." ⁷

Then he said, "Where is he who asked about the [last] hour?" He said: Then a man at the back of the people

¹ An Umayyad Caliph. d. 126 (744). Cf. Farmer, op. cit., 65.

² A trustworthy transmitter of traditions. He was born in *Khurāsān* and retired latterly to Makka to devote himself to a religious life. d. 187 (803). See *Enc. of Islām*, ii, 117; Al-*Ghazālī*, op. cit., 248 n.

³ I have found no reference to this man elsewhere.

⁴ Zain al-'Ābidīn, the fourth of the *Shī'a* imāms. d. 92 or 94 (710-13). See *Enc. of Islām*, i, 288.

⁵ This is clearly a wrong interpretation of the meaning of *barbaṭ*. The *barbaṭ* is the Persian lute. See *Enc. of Islām*, iv, 985.

⁶ Son of Zain al-'Ābidīn. d. 125 or 126 (743-4). See *Enc. of Islām*, iv, 1193-4.

⁷ Qur. xxi, 104.

knelt on his knees, and lo, he was 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb.¹ Then Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "That will be when the leaders (*imāms*) are unjust and [Allāh's] decree is declared false, and owing to faith in the stars, and in a people who take a deposit as booty and the legal alms as a debt² and immorality as increase (*ziyāda*)."^{F. 57a.} Then he [i.e. 'Umar] asserted that he had asked him about it, so he said, "[There will be] two men of the profligate people one of whom will prepare food and drink for his companion and will come to him with jesting and say, 'Do for me as I have done for you'. Then they will visit one another for that." Thereupon he said, "My people have perished, O Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb."

And from him (Allāh bless him, etc.) that he said when a man questioned him, saying, "O, apostle of Allāh, do you forbid us to weep when you weep?" He said, "I forbade you only two foolish, wicked sounds—[a sound] in a tune of diversion and sport and devil's pipes; and a sound in affliction and scratching of faces and rending of breasts and devil's moaning."

Al-Ḥasan³ (Allāh have mercy on him!) said, "Two sounds are accursed, a pipe in a tune and moaning in affliction." And he said, "And Allāh mentioned the believers and said, And 'in their property there is an appointed portion for him who begs and for him who is prevented [from begging]'⁴; but you have set in your property an appointed portion for the woman who sings to a tune and the woman who wails in affliction."⁵

¹ The second Caliph. d. 23 (644).

² Ibn Māja, *Zakāt*, 8, gives a tradition which says that one who pays the *zakāt* (legal alms) should pray, "O Allāh, make it a booty and not a debt."

³ Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, the famous ascetic. d. 110 (728). See *Enc. of Islām*, ii, 273.

⁴ Qur. lxx, 24-5.

⁵ See Introduction, p. 2 f. Wailing is condemned, but weeping is lawful. Cf. Al-Ṭayālīsī, 1221.

Ḥudhaifa¹ was relating on the authority of Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.), "Let not the man imitate the woman in her clothing, and let not the woman imitate the man in his clothing."² He said, "You send out the women in men's clothes, and you send out the men in women's clothes. There is no innocence, no piety, no zeal, and no shame." He said, "And one dies, then they bring a hired maid who captivates their living ones in their houses and injures their dead ones in their graves, preventing them from their reward in the next world on account of her reward which they give her in the present world."³ And lo, the wailing-woman may say, 'O man, I command you to do what Allāh has forbidden you, and I forbid you what Allāh has commanded you to do. O, verily Allāh has commanded you to have endurance, and I forbid you to have endurance. O, verily, Allāh has forbidden you to be vexed, and I command you to be vexed.'"

On the authority of Nāfi',⁴ he said, "I was going along a road with 'Abdallāh ibn 'Umar,⁵ when he heard a shepherd's reed-pipe (*zammāra*).⁶ So he put his fingers in his ears, then turned aside from the road, and kept saying, 'O, Nāfi', can you hear it?' I said, 'No,' so he took his fingers out

¹ Ḥudhaifa fought at the battle of Uhud (3/625). 'Umar made him governor of Madā'in where he died in 36 (656-7). Ibn Sa'd, vi, 8; also v, 385; vii, ii, 64; Ibn Khallikān (De Slane), iii, 508.

² Al-Bukhārī, *Libās*, 61; Abū Dāwud, *Libās*, 28; Al-Tirmidhī, *Adab*, 34; and Ibn Māja, *Nikāḥ*, 22, say that the Prophet cursed women who imitated men and men who imitated women.

³ Cf. Al-Bukhārī, *Janā'iz*, 33; Abū Dāwud, *Janā'iz*, 25; Al-Nasā'ī, iv, 15, where it is said that the dead are punished when their people weep over them.

⁴ A freedman of 'Abdallāh ibn 'Umar, most of whose traditions are handed down through Nāfi'. The latter had a high reputation for exactness. Ibn Khallikān (De Slane), iii, 521-2.

⁵ See p. 25, n. 2.

⁶ Al-Ghazālī, op. cit., 248-250, in referring to this story, uses *mizmār*. For the *zammāra* and the modern *zummāra*, which is a double-reed pipe, see *Enc. of Islām*, iii, 541; Farmer, *Studies in Oriental Mqs. Instrs.*, i, 77-9.

of his ears, then returned to the road and said, 'Thus I saw Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) do.'"¹

Anas² (Allāh be pleased with him!) said, "The worst earnings are the earnings of the reed-pipe."³

F. 58a. On the authority of [Abū] Umāma⁴ (Allāh be pleased with him!), he said, Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "Allāh sent me as a blessing and guidance to all creatures. He sent me to annihilate the stringed instruments and the reed-pipes (*mazāmīr*) and to destroy the *jāhilīya*⁵ and the idols. And my Lord swore by His might, No one will drink wine in this world, but He will give him a like quantity in the worst [part] of hell on the Day of Resurrection. And no one will leave it alone in this world, but He will give him it to drink in the holy precincts until his soul is satisfied."

And from Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadir,⁶ that he said, "When the Day of Resurrection comes, He will keep calling, Where are those who kept themselves away from diversion and the devil's reed-pipes? Make them dwell in the garden of musk. Then He will say to the angels, Let them hear praise and laud of me, and inform them that 'there is no fear upon them and they will not grieve'."⁷

¹ Abū Dāwud, *Adab*, 52, gives a form of this tradition, but adds a note that it was said to belong to one of the weak categories (*munkar*). Ibn Māja, *Nikāh*, 22, has a tradition on the authority of Mujāhid which tells of Ibn 'Umar putting his fingers in his ears when he heard a drum played and saying the Prophet had done the same. Al-Ḡhazālī, op. cit., 248-250, speaks of the tradition given in the text and argues that it does not condemn the shepherd's pipe, as the Prophet possibly put his fingers in his ears to keep his thoughts from being interrupted. Al-Nābulusī, op. cit., 40, uses the same argument.

² Anas ibn Mālīk. He had been a servant of the Prophet. Many traditions have been handed down on his authority, but he was not regarded as very reliable. d. between 91 and 93 (709-712). See *Enc. of Islām*, i, 345.

³ Lane, *Lexicon*, 1250, translates *zammāra* as "fornicatress", or "female singer".

⁴ See p. 19, n. 6.

⁵ This term is used of the pre-Islāmic period.

⁶ An eminent Qur'ān-reader and traditionist. The imām Mālīk was one of his pupils. d. 131 (748-9). Ibn Khallikān (De Slane), ii, 119 n.

⁷ Qur. ii, 36, 59, etc.

On the authority of Mujāhid¹ concerning the saying of Allāh (exalted is He), "And excite those of them whom you can with your voice"²; he said, "The reed-pipe." "And charge them with your horse and with your foot"²; he said, "Every rider who has ridden in disobedience to Allāh is among the cavalry of Iblīs, and every foot which has run in disobedience to Allāh is among the footmen of Iblīs."

On the authority of Ibn 'Abbās,³ on the authority of the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.), he said, "Allāh has forbidden you wine, *al-maisir*,⁴ and the *kūba*, which is the drum (*ṭabl*)."⁵ And he said, "Every intoxicant is forbidden."⁶ F. 586.

On the authority of Qais ibn Sa'id,⁷ that Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "My Lord forbade me wine, *al-maisir*, the *qinnīn*, and the *kūba*." *Al-maisir* is gambling; the *qinnīn* is the lute ('ūd),⁸ and it is said the *qinnīn* is one of the playthings used in gambling; and the *kūba* is the drum (*ṭabl*), and it is said it is the lute ('ūd) and backgammon (*nard*).

Suwaid ibn Ghafala⁹ said, "The angels do not enter a house in which is a tambourine (*duff*)."

¹ Mujāhid ibn Jabr. An authority on tradition. d. in Makka between 102 and 104 (720-3). Ibn Sa'd, v, 343-4.

² Qur., xvii, 66.

³ See p. 24, n. 5.

⁴ A game of the pre-Islāmic Arabs which was prohibited by Muḥammad. Lots were cast by means of arrows for portions of a camel. Later *al-maisir* came to be used as synonymous with gambling (cf. p. 36). See *Enc. of Islām*, iii, 155-6.

⁵ See Introduction, p. 3, n. 2.

⁶ Cf. Al-Nasā'ī, viii, 296; Ibn Māja, ii, 173.

⁷ The MS. gives Qais ibn Sa'id, but I have found no reference to such a person. It may possibly be an error for Qais ibn Sa'd, who was made governor of Egypt by 'Alī in 37 (657-8). He later acknowledged Mu'āwiya, 'Alī's rival, and returned to Al-Madīna, where he died in 59 (678-9). Ibn Sa'd, v, 355; vi, 34; Ibn Khall. (De Slane), i, 622 n.

⁸ Dr. H. G. Farmer has drawn my attention to the fact that Al-Firūzābādī says it is the pandore (*tanbūr*).

⁹ Suwaid became a Muslim in the lifetime of the Prophet, but never saw him, as he came to Al-Madīna on the day the Prophet died. He is therefore reckoned a Follower (*Tābi'ī*). He took part in several famous battles and is quoted as a traditionalist. He died at a great age in 81 or 82 (700-2). Al-Nawawī, op. cit., 309-310; Ibn Sa'd, vi, 45.

Al-Ḥasan¹ said, "The tambourine does not pertain at all to the practice of the Muslims."

‘Āṣim ibn Hubaira² used not to see a tambourine without breaking it. Then when he was old he took a tambourine and began to trample on it with his feet, but it did not break. So he said, "Not one of their devils has overcome me but this."³

Ibrāhīm⁴ said, "They were seizing the openings of the streets, tearing up the tambourines which the girls had." He means Ibn Mas‘ūd’s⁵ companions. They were standing at the ends of the streets to remove this forbidden thing.

On the authority of Buraida⁶ (Allāh be pleased with him!), that the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "He who plays backgammon (*nardashīr*) has disobeyed Allāh and His apostle."⁷ And on his authority that he heard Allāh’s apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) saying, "No one turns over its dice expecting what they will produce without disobeying Allāh and His apostle"; meaning one who plays with the dice
 F. 59a. of backgammon when he throws them waiting for what will issue to him from them of victory and success, for that is the gambler, and the gambler is a profligate.

¹ See p. 28, n. 3.

² The only reference I have found to ‘Āṣim is in Al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ii, 1804, where he is spoken of in connection with Yazīd’s rebellion against Al-Walīd in 126 (744).

³ The breaking of musical instruments is considered by some to be quite legal. Cf. Introduction, p. 3. Al-Bukhārī, *Mazālim*, 32, says that Shurāih came on a pandore which had been broken, but gave no judgment regarding it.

⁴ Ibrāhīm ibn Adham, a famous ascetic. d. between 160 and 166 (776–783). See *Enc. of Islām*, ii, 432–4.

⁵ See p. 24, n. 2.

⁶ Buraida accepted Islām on meeting Muḥammad during his migration (*hijra*) from Makka to Al-Madīna. At the conquest of Makka he had a standard. He afterwards went to Al-Baṣra. Later he went to Khurāsān and died in Marw in 63 (682–3). Add to the references in *Enc. of Islām*, i, 793, Ibn Sa‘d, vii, i, 3, 4; vii, ii, 99 f.

⁷ Abū Dāwud, *Adab*, 56, and Ibn Māja, *Adab*, 42, give this tradition on the authority of Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī, except that *nard* (backgammon) is used in place of *nardashīr*.

From him (Allāh bless him, etc.) that he said, "The similitude of him who plays backgammon (*nard*), then rises and prays, verily Allāh does not accept his prayer, and his similitude is like that of him who performs his ablution with pus and swine's blood."¹

From him (Allāh bless him, etc.) that he said, "Fear these two marked (*mashūmatain*) games which draw omens, for they belong to the *maisir* of the Persians." He called them *al-mashūmatain* simply on account of the black spots which are in them, for they are in them like tattooing.² And his phrase 'which draw omens', i.e. they bring forth the lot without right or principle, and it comes only by chance, just as the one who draws omens from birds does. He is the one who takes the omen from their voices and is correct and wrong without right or principle.

Ibn 'Umar³ said, "He who gambles at backgammon is like him who anoints himself with swine's *wadak*," meaning its grease.

From Yaḥyā ibn [abī] Kuthaiyir,⁴ that he came upon some people playing at backgammon and said, "Neglectful hearts, busy hands, and deceiving tongues."

'Abdallāh ibn Nāfi'⁵ was questioned about chess and backgammon and said, "I have never come across one of our learned ones who has not disliked them both." Mālik⁶ used

¹ Muslim, v, 74-5; Abū Dāwud, *Adab*, 56; and Ibn Māja, *Adab*, 42, give the following on the authority of Buraida, "He who plays backgammon (*nardashir*) is as though he had plunged his hand into swine's flesh and blood."

² The text has *mashūmatain* (marked), and Ibn abī'l-Dunyā explains it thus; but the latter part of his explanation might suggest that the reading should be *mash'ūmatain* (ill-omened).

³ See p. 25, n. 2.

⁴ Ibn Sa'd, v, 404, gives the name as Yaḥyā ibn abī Kuthaiyir. He was a freedman of Ṭai'. d. 129 (746-7).

⁵ 'Abdallāh ibn Nāfi' was devoted to Mālik ibn Anas. He died in Al-Madīna in 206 (821-2). Ibn Sa'd, v, 324-5.

⁶ The imām Mālik ibn Anas. d. 179 (795-6). See *Enc. of Islām*, iii, 205 ff.

to say the same thing. He was questioned about their testimony, and said, "Their testimony is not accepted, and there is no honour that one should be hiding that and not making it public." Thus Mālik used to say, and similarly about F. 59b. chess. What he said about singing was, "Testimony is not accepted on account of it."¹

From 'Alī² (Allāh be pleased with him!) that he came upon some people who were playing chess and said, "What are these figures about which you are zealous?³ If one of you touches live coals till they are extinguished, it will be better for him than that he should touch them."

Abū Ja'far⁴ was questioned about chess and said, "Let us have nothing to do with this Magianism."

Ibrāhīm⁵ was asked, "What do you say about the pieces (*lu'ab*) in chess?" Then he said, "They are accursed."

A Syrian saw in his sleep that every believer and Muslim is forgiven twelve times every day except the companions of the *Shāh*, meaning chess.

Mālik said, "Chess pertains to backgammon."

We heard concerning Ibn 'Abbās⁶ that he was put in charge of an orphan's property and found them [i.e. chess pieces] and destroyed⁷ them.

¹ *Aghānī*, iv, 39, suggests that Mālik was better disposed to singing than this passage suggests. One day, on hearing a passer-by making a mistake in a song, he put his head out of the window and corrected him. But he refused to repeat the correction lest the man should announce that he had learned it from him. This may indicate that his personal inclinations were different from his official declarations. It is said in the same place that in youth he had wished to be a singer, but his mother advised him to take up *fiqh* (jurisprudence) instead, on the ground that, with his ugly face, he would never be a successful singer, whereas an ugly face was no hindrance to a jurist's success. With regard to backgammon and chess see Introduction, p. 12, n. 2.

² See p. 20, n. 4.

³ Qur. xxi, 53.

⁴ Al-Anṣārī. He was an authority on tradition. He died during the Caliphate of the last Umayyad Caliph, Marwān ibn Muḥammad (127-132/744-750). *Ibn Coteiba's Handbuch der Gesch.*, p. 262; Ibn Sa'd, v, 4.

⁵ See p. 32, n. 4.

⁶ See p. 24, n. 5.

⁷ ? Burned.

Ibn 'Umar¹ was questioned about chess and said, "It is worse than backgammon from two points of view. One of them is that the heart is not occupied in backgammon with prolonged thought as in chess, for it [chess] requires prolonged thought and leads to waste of time. The second is that there is not so much quarrelling among players of backgammon as among players of chess,² for their idle talk about it is abundant and their disputing about it is violent. And further, people's inclination for chess is stronger and their occupation with it is greater. So on this account he said it is worse than backgammon. And he knew that the statute about the prohibition of backgammon is sound and the general agreement (*ijmā'*) about it united, contrary to chess, for it (backgammon) is much easier. F. 60a.

Aiyūb³ saw some people playing chess and said, Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadir⁴ told us, he said, "He who plays backgammon has disobeyed Allāh and His apostle." Someone said to him, "This is not backgammon." He said, "Backgammon and chess are alike."

On the authority of Ṣāliḥ ibn al-Khalīl⁵ that Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) ordered see-saws⁶ (*marājīḥ*) to be suppressed. When Abū Burda⁷ saw any of his people

¹ See p. 25, n. 2.

² Whether or not this was the general rule, we learn from *Agh.*, v, 89, that a serious quarrel could also arise over backgammon. There it says that Al-Faḍl ibn al-Rabī' (d. 208/823-4) became so angry with Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm that he refused to admit him to his presence.

³ Ibn abī Tamīm. He met a number of famous men, including Ibn al-Munkadir whom he quotes here. He was a reliable authority for tradition. d. 131 (748-9). Al-Nawawī, op. cit., 170-1.

⁴ See p. 30, n. 6.

⁵ This may have been a son of Al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad (d. between 170 and 175/786 and 791).

⁶ Abū Dāwūd, *Adab*, 55, quotes traditions about 'Ā'ishā amusing herself on a swing (*urjūha*) without any suggestion of disapproval. This word is from the same root as *marjūha*, and the two are said to refer to the same thing. Cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, 1035.

⁷ There were two men called Abū Burda in the early days of Islām, either of whom might be the one mentioned here. One was Hānī' ibn 'Amr ibn 'Ubaid, who was a transmitter of traditions, and died in 45 (665-6)

and his children playing on see-saws, he beat them and broke the see-saws.

On the authority of 'Aṭā',¹ Ṭāwus,² and Mujāhid,³ they said, "Everything which has to do with gambling pertains to *al-maisir*, even the play of children with dice and walnuts."⁴

Ibn Sīrīn⁵ said, "Whatever thing there is in which there is gambling, or shouting, or evil, it pertains to *al-maisir*."⁶

Al-Ḥasan⁷ was asked about fragments of eggs. He said, "It is not sound". And concerning him [it is reported] that he was giving children permission to gamble with eggs,⁸

or 42 (662-3). Al-Nawawī, op. cit., 653; *Ibn Coteiba*, op. cit., 135. The other was 'Amir ibn abī Mūsā. He succeeded Shuraiḥ as *qāḍī* of Al-Kūfa. d. between 103 and 107 (721-6). Ibn Sa'd, vi, 187; Ibn Khall. (De Slane), ii, 2-4; *Ibn Coteiba*, 136. It is possible that the man referred to is the latter.

¹ 'Aṭā' ibn abī Rabāḥ was a native of Al-Janad in Al-Yaman. He was a famous jurisconsult and authority on tradition. He became *muftī* in Makka. d. 114 or 115 (732-4). See *Enc. of Islām*, i, 504, for references.

² 'Abd al-Rahmān Ṭāwus ibn Kaisān al-Khantani al-Hamdāni al-Yamanī. His real name is said to have been Zakwān. He was a freedman of Hamdān. He heard traditions from Ibn 'Abbās and Abū Huraira, and his authority was quoted by Mujāhid and 'Amr ibn Dinār. He was eminent among the Followers (*ṭābi'īs*) and held high rank as a jurisconsult. He was called Ṭāwus (peacock) because he was the peacock (chief) of the Qur'ān-readers. Ibn Khall. says he died in 104 or 106 during the pilgrimage, and that the Caliph said the funeral prayers over him. Ibn Sa'd says he died at the pilgrimage in 106 and that the Caliph Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik was present at his funeral. If Hishām was Caliph at the time, the date must have been 106 (725), as Hishām became Caliph in 105. Ibn Sa'd, v, 391-5; Ibn Khall. (De Slane), i, 642-3.

³ See p. 31, n. 1.

⁴ Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, ii, 106, quotes examples of approval given to children's games, even though they involved gambling. The only prohibition mentioned has to do with playing with dogs.

⁵ b. 33 (653-4), d. 110 (728). He was an important traditionalist and a noted jurisconsult in Al-Baṣra. He was a friend of Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, but the friendship was broken. As secretary he served Anas ibn Mālīk in Persia. Ibn Sīrīn was noted for his piety, but this did not prevent him from dying in debt. Al-Ibshīhī, *Mustatraf*, ii, 295, indicates that he knew and was interested in chess. See *Enc. of Islām*, ii, 420-1, for references.

⁶ Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, iii, 155-6.

⁷ Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.

⁸ Al-Jāḥiẓ, op. cit., ii, 106, says that Al-Ḥasan saw no harm in buying the eggs with which boys play. He had the same opinion regarding the walnuts with which they played.

but Ibn Sirīn disliked it. Ibn al-Musaiyib ¹ saw no harm in breaking the eggs with which children gamble. Similarly F. 606. Al-Ḥasan gave permission concerning this only because he considered that children have no religious duties laid on them (*ghair mukallafīn*). So he considered there was no reason for forbidding them doing [it], contrary to adults, for their gambling is disobedience and what they acquire by it is forbidden.

On the authority of Abū Huraira ² that Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) saw a man following a pigeon and said, "A devil following a she-devil." ³

From Al-Mujāhid ⁴ concerning His saying (exalted is He), "You build on every height (*rī'*) a mark in sport." ⁵ He said "[It means] pigeon-houses." It is said that the amusements of Pharaoh's people were pigeons. Ibrāhīm ⁶ said, "He who plays with flying pigeons will not die before experiencing the taste of poverty." ⁷ And Shuraiḥ ⁸ would not give shelter to a pigeon owner, or to his pigeons. ⁹

¹ Abū Muḥammad Sa'īd ibn al-Musaiyib. His father's name was properly Al-Musaiyab, but Sa'īd pronounced it Al-Musaiyib. He was one of the seven great jurisconsults of Al-Madina. He was noted for his piety and had a contempt for worldly goods. b. 15 or 16 (636-8), d. between 91 and 95 (709-714), or 105 (723-4). Ibn Sa'd, v, 88-106; Ibn Khall. (De Slane), i, 568-9.

² See p. 21, n. 3.

³ Ibn Māja, *Adab.*, 43; Abū Dāwud, *Adab.*, 57.

⁴ See p. 31, n. 1.

⁵ Qur. xxvi, 128.

⁶ See p. 32, n. 4.

⁷ Cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 69.

⁸ Shuraiḥ was known as Al-Qāḍī. He was an eminent Follower who was appointed *qāḍī* of Al-Kūfa by 'Umar; a post which, except for a break of three years, he is said to have filled for seventy-five years! Ibn Sa'd, vi, 90-100; Ibn Khall. (De Slane), i, 619-622. The interesting information is given by Al-Nābulusī, op. cit., 54, that, in spite of his position, Shuraiḥ used to compose tunes and listen to singing girls singing them.

⁹ The *Hidāya* (iii, 376) objects to those who fly birds because they go on the roofs of houses and so see the women's quarters, on neighbouring roofs. Cf. Al-Jāhiz, op. cit., iii, 58.

Sufyān¹ said, "We heard of a game with the *jalāhiq* and a game with pigeons. It is the doing of Lot's people."² The *jalāhiq* is the bow for clay bullets (*al-bunduq*), and the dislike of it is because it does not make the blood of the game flow, so its game is generally beaten to death.³

On the authority of Ibn 'Abbās⁴ that the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "If one does what Lot's people did, the one who does it and the one to whom it is done shall be killed."⁵

Ibrāhīm said, "If there were one who might fittingly be stoned twice, he would be the sodomite (*al-lūṭī*)." He means that if it were possible for one who had been stoned to come
F. 61a. to life after his being killed with the stones, he would be the sodomite. If he were stoned and killed by stoning, then came to life, he would deserve to be stoned another time until he was killed. That is, his sin is too great for one stoning to be enough; contrary to the fornicator (*al-zānī*), for, as punishment and purification, stoning once is enough for him, while that is not enough for the sodomite.

Ibn 'Abbās was asked, "What is the punishment of the sodomite?" He said, "We show our standards in a village and he comes from it, then is followed with stones."⁶

Mujāhid said, "He who does that action," meaning the action of Lot's people, "though he were to wash with every drop that descended from the sky and every drop in the earth, would still be unclean."

¹ Sufyān al-Thaurī, a famous theologian, traditionist and ascetic. d. 161 (778). *Enc. of Islām*, iv, 500-2.

² Cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 69.

³ *Hidāya*, iv, 1147 condemns the practice on the same grounds. Al-Jāhīz, op. cit., iii, 58-9, gives examples of the two practices condemned by Sufyān mentioned together with disapproval.

⁴ See p. 24, n. 5.

⁵ Abū Dāwud, *Hudūd*, 28, and Ibn Māja, *Hudūd*, 12, give this tradition on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās with slight verbal changes.

⁶ The standards of the troops must be meant here. The suggestion seems to be that, when he sees government troops coming, he tries to escape, as he knows that they will deal with him for his wickedness.

Al-Zuhri¹ said, "The sodomite is to be stoned whether or not he has preserved chastity for a year past."

On the authority of Wāthila ibn al-Asqa'.² He traced it [to the Prophet]. He said, "Among women with hanging breasts there are sodomites. It is said that they lay with one another in the time of Tubba',³ and they were the people of *Al-Rass*.⁴ They have seventy tunics of fire, vests of fire, and a crown of fire. Inform your women of this."

It was said to Muḥammad ibn 'Alī,⁵ "Allāh punished the women of Lot's people for the action of their men." Then he said, "Allāh is more just than that. No, the men were satisfied with the men, and the women with the women."

On the authority of Ḥūbartha ibn Asmā'⁶ on the authority F. 61b. of his uncle, he said, "I made the pilgrimage, and we alighted at a halt, and along with us was a woman. She slept and awoke, and a snake was coiled round her with its head joined to its tail in front of her. That terrified us, and we set out, it still being coiled round, nothing harming her, till we entered the stones of the ḥaram⁷; then it left her. We entered Makka, performed our rites, and departed till, when we were in the place where it coiled itself round her, she fell asleep and awoke, and the snake was coiled around her. Then the

¹ A celebrated jurisconsult and traditionist. d. 123 or 124 (740-2). He was such an assiduous student that his wife is said to have declared that his books annoyed her more than three other wives would. For details and references see *Enc. of Islām*, iv, 1239-1241.

² An Arab of Kināna who became a Muslim when Muḥammad was preparing for the expedition of Tabūk (9/630). He was one of the poor Muslims who lived on the veranda of the mosque in Al-Madīna (*ahl al-suffa*). After Muḥammad's death he went to Syria, where he was noted for his hospitality. He died in Jerusalem in 83 or 85 (702 or 704). Ibn Sa'd, vii, ii, 129; Ibn Khall. (De Slane), iii, 439 n.

³ A term applied in Arabic literature to the kings of the Ḥimyarites. For a suggestion on the origin of this word see *Enc. of Islām*, ii, 311.

⁴ Qur. xxv, 40; 1, 12.

⁵ Ibn Sa'd, vi, 257, speaks of a Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Salmā, but all that is said is that his authority was quoted.

⁶ I have found no reference to Ḥūbartha.

⁷ The sacred area which includes Makka.

snake hissed, and lo, the *wādī* was flowing upon us with snakes. Then they bit her till she was left a skeleton. So we said to a servant girl of hers, "Woe to you, tell us about this woman." She said, "She committed fornication three times, each time giving birth to a child. Then when she had given birth to him, she heated the oven and threw him into it."

On the authority of 'Ikrima,¹ he said, "Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) cursed the house which the *mukhannath*² enters."

On the authority of 'Uthmān³ (Allāh be pleased with him!), that he gave twenty lashes to a man who said to another, "O *mukhannath*."

Ṭāwus (Allāh have mercy on him!) was asked *de eo qui feminam per clunes ineat*,⁴ and said, "That is unbelief. Lot's people perished simply for that. *Ad hunc modum viri cum viris, feminae cum feminis coierunt*."

¹ A Companion of the Prophet. 'Ikrima was killed at the battle of Ajnadain (13/634).

² The *mukhannaths* were hermaphrodites, and had an unpleasant reputation. Al-Bukhārī, *Hudūd*, 33, says the Prophet cursed the men who were *mukhannathūna* and the women who imitated men. Some references are given by Farmer, *Hist. of Arab. Music*, 45 n.

³ The third Caliph. Murdered 35 (656).

⁴ Cf. Abū Dāwud, *Nikāḥ*, 45.

V
DHAMM AL-MALĀHĪ
TEXT

[F. 52b.] كتاب ذمّ الملاهي لابن أبي الدنيا.

عن سهل بن سعد¹ رضي الله عنهما قال قال رسول الله
صلّى الله عليه وسلّم يكون في آخر أمّتي خسف وقذف²
ومسخ . قيل يا رسول الله متى . قال إذا ظهرت المعازف
والقينات واستحلّت الحمرّة . والمعازف هي آلات الطرب
والقينات الجوارى المغنّيات [F. 53a.] وأمّا القذف فهو
الرمي بالحجارة [من السماء كما أرسلت على قوم لوط على
قبائل منها وعلى دور منها وليرسلنّ عليهم³ .]

عن أبي أمامة رضي الله عنه عن رسول الله صلّى الله
عليه وسلّم قال يبيت قوم من هذه الأمّة على طعام
وشراب ولهو فيصبحون قد مُسخوا قردة وخنازير
وليصيبهم خسف وقذف حتّى يصبح الناس فيقولون
خُسِف الليلة بدار فلان خُسِف الليلة ببني فلان وليرسلنّ الله

¹ MS. سعيد. ² MS. وقذف.

³ The passage in brackets is added in the margin of the MS., and is followed by “صح” to indicate that it is a correction.

عليهم الریح العقيم التي أهلكت عادا بشرهم¹ الخمر
وأكلهم الربا واتخاذهم القينات ولبسهم الحرير وقطيعتهم
الرحم.

وعن عائشة رضي الله عنها قالت قال رسول الله
صلّى الله عليه وسلّم يكون في أمّتي خسف وقذف ومسح.
قالت عائشة يا رسول الله² وهم يقولون لا إله إلا الله.
قال إذا ظهرت القينات وظهر الزنا وشرب الخمر ولبس
الحرير كان ذا عندنا.

عن عليّ رضي الله عنه قال قال رسول الله صلّى الله
عليه وسلّم إذا عملت³ أمّتي خمس عشرة⁴ خصلة⁵ حلّ
بها ذلك⁶ البلاء. قيل⁷ يا رسول الله وما هنّ⁸. قال إذا
كان المغنم دولا [F. 53b.] والأمانة مغنا والزكوة مغرما
وأطاع الرجل زوجته وعقّ أمّه وبرّ صديقه وجفا أباه
وارتفعت الأصوات في المساجد⁹ وكان زعيم¹⁰ القوم أرذلهم

¹ MS. بشرهم.

² MS. ما. ³ Al-Tirmidhī, *Fitan* 38, فعلت.

⁴ Following Tir.; MS. has خمسة عشر. ⁵ MS. حصلة.

⁶ Wanting in Tir.

⁷ Tir. فقيل.

⁸ Tir. وما هنّ يا رسول الله.

⁹ MS. المساجد.

¹⁰ MS. ازعيم.

وأكرم الرجل مخافة شره¹ وشرب الخمر¹ ولبس الحرير
 واتخذت القينات والمعازف ولعن آخر هذه الأمة أولها
 فليرتقبوا عند ذلك ثلاثاً² ريحاً حمراء³ وخسفاً ومسحاً.
 قال الشيخ رحمه⁵ الله قلت قوله إذا كان المغنم دولا
 أي تغلب الأمراء والملوك على الغنائم فيداولونها بينهم
 ولا يقسمونها في الجند الذي غنمها⁶. والأمانة مغنم أي
 يصير الناس لخياتهم يعدّون الأموال التي يؤتمنون عليها
 غنيمة يفتنمونها⁷ يودع إليه وديعة أو يوصى إليه وصيّة
 أو يوكل في وكالة وشبهه يكرهه الأمين لأنه لنفسه فيه
 عناء ويحبّه الخائن لأنه يراه ربّحاً ومغنماً قد سبق إليه.
 والزكاة مغرم أي ليس لأغنياء ذلك الزمان نيّة في طلب
 الأجر إذا أخرجوا زكوات أموالهم وإنّما يخرجونها
 بقهر السلطان [F. 54a.] أو لرياء الناس فيعدّون خروجها
 مغرمًا يغرّمونه⁸ لا ثواباً قدّموه. قوله وبرّ صديقه وجفا
 أباه إنّما عاب عليهم برّ أصدقائهم⁹ إلّا أنّهم لم يكن إلّا

¹ Tir. وشرب الخمر. For gender of vb. in text cf. Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, i, 180c.

² MS. ثلاثاً. ³ Following Tir.; MS. حمراً. ⁴ Tir. أو. ⁵ MS. رحمه.

⁶ MS. غنمها. ⁷ يفتنمونها. ⁸ يغرّمونه. ⁹ MS. صدقائهم.

إِنَّمَا كَانَتْ مَوْدَّةً بَيْنَهُمْ فِي الْحَيَاةِ الدُّنْيَا وَلَوْ كَانَ ذَلِكَ الْبَرُّ
لِلَّهِ خَالِصًا لَمْ يَكُنْ لِأَبِيهِ جَافِيًا.¹

وَعَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ² رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ قَالَ قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ
صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَمْسُخُ قَوْمٌ مِنْ هَذِهِ الْأُمَّةِ فِي آخِرِ
الزَّمَانِ قَرْدَةً وَخَنَازِيرَ . قَالُوا يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ يَشْهَدُونَ أَنْ لَا
إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَأَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ . قَالَ بَلَى وَيَصُومُونَ
وَيَصَلُّونَ وَيَحْجُّونَ . قَالُوا فَمَا بِالْهَمِّ . قَالَ اتَّخَذُوا الْمَعَازِفَ
وَالدَّفُوفَ وَالْقَيْنَاتِ فَبَاتُوا عَلَى شَرِبِهِمْ³ وَلِهَوَاهُمْ فَأَصْبَحُوا
وَقَدْ مَسَخُوا قَرْدَةً وَخَنَازِيرَ .

وَعَنْ صَالِحِ بْنِ خَالِدٍ⁴ رَفَعَ إِلَى النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ
وَسَلَّمَ كَانَ يَقُولُ لَيْسَتْ حِلَّةٌ أَنْاسٌ مِنْ أُمَّتِي الْحَرِيرِ وَالْحُمْرِ
وَالْمَعَازِفِ وَلِيَأْتِيَ اللَّهُ عَلَى أَهْلِ حَاضِرٍ مِنْهُمْ بِجَبَلٍ⁵ حَتَّى
يَنْبِذَهُ عَلَيْهِمْ وَيَمْسُخُ⁷ آخَرُونَ قَرْدَةً⁸ وَخَنَازِيرَ .

وَعَنْ جَبْرِ بْنِ تَفِيرٍ¹⁰ قَالَ قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ
عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ لَتُسْتَصْعَبَنَّ [F. 54b.] الْأَرْضُ بِأَهْلِهَا حَتَّى لَا

¹ MS. خافيا. ² MS. ابى هريره. ³ MS. شرهيم. ⁴ MS. بن خالد.
⁵ MS. كان يقول. ⁶ MS. بجبل. ⁷ MS. ويمسخ. ⁸ MS. قردة.
⁹ MS. وخنازير. ¹⁰ MS. خبير. ¹¹ MS. بن.

يكون على ظهرها أهل بيت مدر ولا وبر وليبتلين¹ آخر
 هذه الأمة بالرجف فإن تابوا تاب الله عليهم وإن عادوا
 عاد الله عليهم بالرجف والقذف والمسح والصواعق .
 قوله لتستصعبن الأرض بأهلها² أي تبقى³ الأرض
 لشدة الزلازل وكثرة الأهوال كظهر البعير الصعب
 الذي لا يستقرّ عليه ركب ولا حمل إلا ألقاه حتى لا
 يكون على ظهرها أهل بيت مجتمع شملهم منتظم أمرهم
 إلا تشتتوا وتفرّقوا بالقتل والسبي والجور والفلاء وما يشبه
 ذلك من مفرقات الجموع ومخليات الربوع . ومن اعتبر
 زماننا هذا وجده قد كثر في أهله هذا .

عن صحار قال قال رسول الله صلّى الله عليه وسلّم
 لا تقوم الساعة حتى يخسف⁴ بقبائل فيقال من بني فلان .
 وكان أبو هريرة⁵ رضي الله عنه يقول لا تقوم
 الساعة حتى يمشي الرجلان إلى الأمر يعملانه فيمسح
 أحدهما⁶ قردا أو خنزيرا فلا يمنع الذي نجا منها ما رأى
 بصاحبه أن [F. 55a.] يمشي إلى شأنه ذلك حتى يقضي

¹ MS. وليبتلين .

² MS. اهلها .

³ MS. تبقا .

⁴ MS. يخسف .

⁵ MS. هريره .

⁶ MS. احدهما .

شهوته منه وحتى يمشي الرجلان إلى الأمر فيعملانه
 فيخسف بأحدهما فلا يمنع الذي نجا منها ما رأى بصاحبه
 أن يمضي إلى شأنه ذلك حتى يقضي شهوته منه .
 وقال مالك بن دينار بلغني أن ريحا تكون في آخر
 الزمان عظيمة¹ فيفزع الناس إلى علمائهم فيجدونهم قد
 مسخوا .

عن أبي أمامة قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه
 وسلم إن الله قد حرم القينة وبيعها² وثمنها وتعليمها³
 والاستماع إليها . ثم قرأ قوله تعالى ومن الناس من يشتري
 لهو الحديث . فقال والله هو الغناء وأشباهه .

وقال ابن مسعود الغناء ينبت النفاق في القلب كما
 ينبت الماء الزرع . وعنه قال قال رسول الله صلى الله
 عليه وسلم الغناء ينبت النفاق في القلب كما ينبت الماء البقل .
 وعن ابن عباس رضي الله عنه في قوله تعالى وأنتم
 ساعدون قال هو الغناء بالحميرية . اسمد لنا أي غنّ لنا .

¹ This reading is given tentatively. The MS. has وظيمة.

² MS. وتبعها.

³ MS. وتعليمها.

يعني أن لغة حمير من أهل اليمن إذا أمروا المغني أن يغنيهم [F. 55b.] قالوا اسمد لنا .

وقال ابن¹ مسعود إذا ركب الرجل الدابة ولم يسم الله تعالى ردفه الشيطان . قال له تغنه فإن كان لا يحسن قال له تمنه .

عن أبي أمامة رضي الله عنه أن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال ما رفع أحد صوته بغناء إلا بعث الله إليه شيطانين يجلسان على منكبيه يضربان بأعقابهما على صدره حتى يمسك .

ومر ابن عمر على قوم محرمين وفيهم رجل يغني فقال ألا لا سمع الله لكم ألا لا سمع الله لكم . ومر بجارية صغيرة تغني فقال لو ترك أحدا لترك هذه الجارية .

وسأل إنسان القاسم² بن محمد عن الغناء فقال أنهاك عنه وأكرهه لك . قال أحرام هو . قال انظر يا بن أخي إذا ميز الله الحق من الباطل في أيهما يجعل³ الغناء . وقال الشعبي لعن الله المغني والمغني له .

¹ MS. بن .

² MS. القسم .

³ MS. يجعل .

قيل وكان رجل يكثر الجلوس في المسجد فتركه
 واتخذ قينة ولها بها عن المسجد فكتب إليه¹ بعض إخوانه
 يقول انظر يا أخي من أي شيء خرجت وفي أي شيء
 دخلت وعلى من أقبلت ومن أقبل عليك وعمّن أعرضت
 ومن أعرض عنك فإنّك [F. 56a.] إن أحسنت النظر علمت
 أنّك خرجت من النور ودخلت في الظلمة وأعرضت عن
 الله وأعرض الله عنك .

وكتب عمر بن عبد العزيز إلى مؤدّب² ولده خذهم
 بالجفاء فهو أمنع لإقدامهم وترك الصبحة فإنّ عاداتها
 تكسب الغفلة وقلة الضحك فإنّ كثرت تميّت القلب
 وليكن أوّل ما يعتقدون من أدبك بغض الملاهي التي
 بدؤها من الشيطان وعاقبتها سخط الرحمن فإنّه بلغني عن
 الثقات من حملة العلم أنّ حضور المعازف واستماع الأغاني
 واللهج بها ينبت النفاق في القلب كما ينبت العشب الماء .
 وليفتتح كلّ غلام⁴ منهم بجزء⁵ من القرآن يثبت في قراءته
 فإذا فرغ منه تناول نبله وقوسه وخرج إلى الفرض حافيا

¹ MS. إليه.² MS. بن.³ MS. مؤدّب.⁴ MS. علام.⁵ MS. بجزء.

فرمى سبعة أرشاق ثم انصرف إلى القائلة فإن ابن مسعود كان يقول يا بنيّ قتلوا فإن الشياطين لا تقيل . قوله الصبحة التي نهام عنها فإنها هي النوم بعد طلوع الصبح . [F. 56b.] وقال يزيد بن¹ الوليد يا بني أمية إياكم والغناء² فإنه ينقص الحياء ويزيد الشهوة ويهدم المروة وإنه لينوب عن الخمر ويفعل ما يفعل السكر فإن كنتم لا بد فاعلمين فجنبوه النساء والصبيان فإن الغناء داعية الزنا .

وقال الفضيل بن عياض الغناء رقية الزنا .

وقال رافع بن حفص المدني أربعة³ لا ينظر الله إليهم يوم القيامة الساحرة والنائحة والمغنية والخائنة لبعلمها . من أدرك ذلك الزمان فالأولى به طول الحزن .

وقال عليّ بن الحسين ما قدّست أمة فيها البربط يعني اللعب بالعود⁴ .

عن زيد بن عليّ قال قال رجل يا رسول الله متى

¹ MS. برى س . ² MS. والغنى .

³ The gender may be explained as due to some such word as أشخاص understood. Otherwise, as all those referred to are women, one might have expected .أربع إليهن .

⁴ MS. بالعود . ⁵ MS. بن .

الساعة . فزبره رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم حتّى
 [إذا] صلى الفجر رفع رأسه إلى السماء فقال تبارك الله
 خالقها ورافعها ومبدلها وطاويها كطيّ السجلّ للكتاب .
 ثمّ قال أين السائل عن الساعة . قال جثا رجل¹ من آخر
 القوم على ركبتيه فإذا هو عمر بن الخطّاب . فقال
 رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ذلك عند حيف الأئمة
 وتكذيب بالقدر وإيماناً بالنجوم وقوما يتخذون الأمانة
 مغنماً والزكوة [F. 57a.] مغرماً والفاحشة زيادة . فزعم أنّه
 سأل إتياء عنها . فقال الرجلان من أهل الفسق يصنع
 أحدهما لصاحبه طعاماً وشراباً ويأتيه بالمزاه فيقول اصنع
 لي كما صنعت لك فيتزاوران² على ذلك . فعند ذلك
 قال هلكت أمتي يا بن الخطّاب .

وعنه صلى الله عليه وسلم أنّه قال حين سأله رجل
 فقال يا رسول الله أتنهانا عن البكاء وتبكي قال إنّما نهيت
 عن صوتين أحقّين فاجرين [صوت] عند نعمة هو ولعب
 ومزامير شيطان وصوت عند مصيبة وخمش وجوه
 وشقّ جيوب ورنّة شيطان .

¹ MS. فجثا رجلاً.

² MS. فيتزاورون.

وقال الحسن رحمه الله صوتان ملعونان من مار عند
 نعمة ورتة عند مصيبة. وقال وذكر الله المؤمنين فقال
 وفي أموالهم حقّ معلوم للسائل والمحروم وجعلتم أنتم¹
 في أموالكم حقّا معلوما للمغنية عند النعمة² وللنايحة عند
 المصيبة.

وكان حذيفة³ يحدث عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه
 وسلم لا يتشبه الرجل بالمرأة [F. 576.] في لبسها ولا تشبهه
 المرأة بالرجل في لبسه. قال وأنتم تخرجون النساء في ثياب
 الرجال وتخرجون الرجال في ثياب النساء. لا برّ ولا تقوى
 ولا غيرة ولا حياء. قال ويموت الميت فيأتون بأمة
 مستأجرة تفتن⁴ أحياءهم في دورهم وتؤذي أموالهم في
 قبورهم تمنعهم أجرهم في الآخرة لما يعطونها من أجرها في
 الدنيا. وها عسى أن تقول النائحة أيها الناس إنني آمركم
 بما نهاكم الله عنه وأنهاكم عما أمركم الله به. ألا إن الله

¹ Qur. lxx, 24, has والذين. The omission of الذين may be intentional, as the sentence reads better without it in this context, but it is unusual to omit anything from a Qur'anic quotation.

² MS. النعمة.

³ MS. حذيفة.

⁴ MS. تفتن.

أمر بالصبر وأنا أنهاكم أن تصبروا . ألا إن الله نهاكم عن
الجزع وأنا آمركم أن تجزعوا .

وعن نافع قال كنت أسير مع عبد الله بن عمر في
طريق فسمع زمارة راع فوضع أصبعيه في أذنيه ثم
عدل عن الطريق فلم يزل يقول يا نافع أسمع . قلت لا .
فأخرج أصبعيه من أذنيه ثم رجع إلى الطريق وقال
هكذا رأيت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم صنع .
وقال أنس رضي الله عنه أخبت الكسب كسب
الزمارة .

[F. 58a.] وعن [أبي] ¹ أمانة رضي الله عنه قال قال
رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم إن الله بعثني رحمة وهدى
للعالمين بعثني لأحق المعازف والمزامير وأمزق الجاهليّة
والأوثان وحلف ربّي بعزّته لا يشرب أحد الخمر في
الدنيا إلّا سقاه مثلها في ² شرّ الحميم يوم ³ القيامة ولا يدعها
أحد في الدنيا إلّا سقاه إتيها في حضيرة القدس حتّى
تقنع نفسه .

¹ MS. omits. أبي.

² MS. مى.

³ MS. يوم.

وعن محمد بن¹ المنكدر أنه قال إذا كان يوم القيامة
ينادي ينادي أين² الذين كانوا ينزهون أنفسهم عن اللهو
ومزامير الشيطان أسكنوهم رياض المسك . ثم يقول
للملائكة أسمعوهم حمدي وثنائي³ وأعلموهم ألا خوف عليهم
ولا هم يحزنون⁴ .

وعن مجاهد في قول الله تعالى واستفزز من استطعت
منهم بصوتك . قال المزمар . واجلب عليهم بخيلك
ورجلك . قال كل ركب ركب في معصية الله فهو في
خيل إبليس وكل رجل سمعت في معصية الله فهي في
رجل إبليس .

وعن ابن عباس عن [F. 58b.] النبي صلى الله عليه
وسلم قال إن الله حرّم عليكم الخمر والميسر والكوبة وهي
الطبل . وقال كل مسكر حرام .

وعن قيس بن سعيد⁵ أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه
وسلم قال إن ربي حرّم عليّ الخمر والميسر والقنينين
والكوبة . الميسر هو القمار والقنين هو العود وقيل⁶ القنين

¹ MS. بن .² MS. ابن .³ MS. وثنائي .⁴ MS. يحزنون .⁵ سعد ؟⁶ MS. وقبل .

لعبة من لعب القمار والكوبة الطبل وقيل العود
والنرد .

وقال سويد بن غفلة¹ الملائكة لا تدخل بيتا فيه دفّ .
وقال الحسن ليس الدفّ من سنة المسلمين في
شيء .

وكان عاصم بن هبيرة لا يرى دفّا إلا كسره . فلما
كبر أخذ دفّا فجعل يطأ عليه برجليه² فلم ينكسر فقال لم
يغلبني³ شيطان لهم غير هذا .

وقال إبراهيم⁴ كانوا يأخذون بأفواه السكك
يخرقون الدفوف التي مع الجواري . يعني أصحاب ابن
مسعود كانوا يقفون في رؤوس⁵ الدروب لإزالة هذا
المنكر .

عن بريدة رضي الله عنه أنّ النبيّ صلّى الله عليه
وسلم قال من لعب بالنردشير⁶ فقد عصى الله ورسوله . وعنه
أنّه سمع رسول الله صلّى الله عليه وسلم يقول لا يقلب

¹ MS. بن . ² MS. عفله . ³ MS. برجليه . ⁴ MS. يغلبني .

⁵ This word has an *alif* in the MS. in this instance. In other places the *alif* is omitted. As either form is allowable, the spelling of the MS. is reproduced in each instance.

⁶ MS. رؤوس . ⁷ MS. بالنردشير .

كما بها أحد ينتظر ما تأتي به إلا عصى الله ورسوله . يعني
اللاعب بكعاب النرد إذا¹ ضرب بها² ينتظر [F. 59a.] ما
يخرج له منها من الظفر والفوز فذلك هو المقامر والمقامر
فاسق .

وعنه صلى الله عليه وسلم أنه قال مثل الذي يلعب
بالنرد ثم يقوم فيصلي فإن الله لا يقبل صلاته ومثله كمثل
الذي يتوضأ³ بالقحيح ودم الخنزير .

وعنه صلى الله عليه وسلم أنه قال اتقوا هاتين
اللعبتين المشومتين اللتين تزجران زجرا فإنهما من ميسر
المجم . إنما سمّاهما المشومتين لما فيهما⁴ من النقط السود
فهى فيهما كالوشم . وقوله تزجران زجرا أي تخرجان
النصيب بغير حق ولا أصل وإنما هو من جهة الاتفاق
كما يفعل زاجر الطير وهو الذي يأخذ الفأل من أصواتها
فيصيب ويخطئ بغير حق ولا أصل .

وقال ابن عمر اللاعب بالنرد قارا كالمدهن بودك
الخنزير يعني بدهنه .

¹ MS. ادا .

² MS. بها .

³ MS. توضى .

⁴ MS. فيها .

وعن يحيى بن² [أبي]³ كثير أنه مرّ على قوم يلعبون
بالنرد فقال قلوب لاهية وأيدي عاملة وألسنة لاغية.

وسئل عبد الله بن نافع عن الشطرنج والنرد فقال ما
أدركت أحدا من علمائنا إلا وهو يكرههما. هكذا كان
مالك يقول. وسئل⁵ عن شهادتهم فقال لا تقبل شهادتهم
ولا كرامة أن يكون يخفي ذلك ولا يملنه. وهكذا كان
مالك يقول وكذلك في الشطرنج⁶ [F. 59b.] قوله في الغناء⁷
لا تقبل له شهادة.⁸

وعن عليّ رضي الله عنه أنه مرّ على قوم يلعبون
بالشطرنج فقال ما هذه التماثيل التي أنتم لها عاكفون لئن
يمسّ أحدكم جمرا حتى يطفأ⁹ فخير¹⁰ له من أن يمسخها¹¹.
وسئل أبو جعفر عن الشطرنج فقال دعونا من
هذه المجوسية.

وقيل لإبراهيم ما تقول في اللعب بالشطرنج¹² فقال
إنها ملعونة.

¹ MS. يحيى. ² MS. بن. ³ MS. omits. ⁴ MS. هكذا.
⁵ MS. وشيل. ⁶ MS. الشطرنج. ⁷ MS. الغنى. ⁸ MS. شهادة.
⁹ MS. يطفى. ¹⁰ MS. خير. ¹¹ MS. ممسها. ¹² MS. بالشطرنج.

ورأى رجل¹ من الشام في منامه أنه يغفر لكل
مؤمن ومسلم في كل يوم اثنتا عشرة² مرة إلا أصحاب
الشاه يعني الشطرنج³.

وقال مالك الشطرنج من النرد .

وبلغنا عن ابن عباس أنه والى مال يتيم فوجدها
فأخرقها⁴.

وسئل ابن عمر عن الشطرنج⁵ فقال هي شر⁶ من النرد
من وجهين أحدهما أن النرد ليس فيه من شغل⁷ القلب
بطول الفكر مثل ما في الشطرنج فإنها تحتاج إلى طول
الفكر فتؤدي إلى تضييع⁸ الوقت . الثاني أن النرد ليس
بين أهله فيه من المنازعة مثل ما في الشطرنج⁹ فإن لغوم
عليها كثير وجدالهم فيها شديد ومع ذلك فإن ميل الناس
إلى الشطرنج أشد¹⁰ [F. 60a.] واشتغالهم به أكثر . فلهذا
قال شر من النرد . وهو يعلم أن النص في تحريم¹⁰ النرد

¹ MS. وراء رجلاً.

² MS. اثنا عشر.

³ MS. السطرنج.

⁴ فأخرقها ؟

⁵ MS. الشطرنج.

⁶ MS. اشر. This correction is made to agree with the form شر which occurs at the beginning of F. 60a. It is the better form.

⁷ MS. شغل.

⁸ MS. تصبيع.

⁹ MS. الشطرنج.

¹⁰ MS. تحرم.

صحيح والإجماع عليها منعقد بخلاف الشطرنج^١ فإنها
أيسر بكثير .

ورأى أيوب قوما يلعبون بالشطرنج^٢ فقال حدثنا
محمد بن المنكدر قال من لعب بالنرد^٣ فقد عصى الله ورسوله .
ف قيل له ليس هذا نرداً^٤ . فقال النرد والشطرنج سواء .

وعن صالح بن الخليل أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه
وسلم أمر بقطع المراجيح . وكان أبو بردة إذا رأى أحداً
من أهله وولده يلعب على المراجيح ضربهم وكسرها .

وعن عطاء وطاوس ومجاهد قالوا كل شيء من القمار
فهو من الميسر حتى لعب الصبيان بالكعاب^٥ والجوز^٦ .
وقال ابن سيرين ما كان من شيء فيه قمار أو صياح
أو شر فهو من الميسر .

وسئل الحسن عن دقاق البيض قال لا يصلح . وعنه
أنه يرخّص في قمار البيض للصبيان . وكان ابن سيرين^٧
يكرهه . وكان ابن المسيّب لا يرى بأساً بكسر البيض
الذي يتقامر به [F. 60b.] الصبيان . وكذلك الحسن إنما

^١ MS. الشطرنج . ^٢ MS. بالشطرنج . ^٣ MS. بالنرد . ^٤ MS. نرد .

^٥ MS. بالكعاب . ^٦ MS. والجوز . ^٧ MS. بن . ^٨ MS. سيرين .

رخص في هذا لأنه رأى¹ الصبيان² غير مكلفين فلم ير³
لفعلهم أثرا في التحريم بخلاف البالغين فإن قارهم معصية
وما يكسبونه⁴ به حرام .

وعن أبي هريرة⁵ أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم
رأى رجلا يتبع حمامة فقال شيطان⁶ يتبع شيطانة .

وعن مجاهد في قوله تعالى تبنون بكل ريع⁷ آية⁸
تعبثون قال بروج الحمام . وقيل كان ملاعب آل فرعون
الحمام . وقال إبراهيم من لعب بالحمام⁹ الطيارة لم يمت¹⁰
حتى يذوق¹¹ طعم الفقر . وكان شريح لا يجير صاحب
حمام ولا حمامه .

وقال سفيان إننا¹² سمعنا لعبا بالجلاهدق ولعبا بالحمام
هو عمل قوم لوط . الجلاهدق قوس البندق وكراهيتها
لأجل أنها لا تسيل دم الصيد فصيدها في الغالب موقوذ .

¹ MS. را . ² MS. الصبيان or الصبيان . ³ MS. ر .

⁴ MS. يكسونه . ⁵ MS. هريره .

⁶ MS. has a form which looks like شيطانا which might be defended on the ground of its being attracted into the case of رجلا , but it may simply be a carelessly writton ن . Ibn Māja, *Adab* 43, and Abū Dāwud, *Adab* 57, have the nominative.

⁷ MS. ريع . ⁸ MS. آية . ⁹ MS. بالحمام . ¹⁰ MS. ممت .

¹¹ MS. يذوق . ¹² MS. ان .

وعن ابن عباس¹ أن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال
فن عمل عمل قوم لوط يقتل الفاعل³ والمفعول به .

وقال إبراهيم لو كان أحد ينبغي له [أن]⁴ يرحم مرتين
لرحم اللوطي . يعني⁵ لو أمكن أن يحيا⁶ المرجوم بعد⁷
قتله⁸ بالحجارة [F. 61a.] لكان اللوطي . إذا رجم⁹ وقتل
بالرجم¹⁰ ثم حي¹⁰ يستوجب أن يرحم مرة أخرى حتى
يقتل . أي ذنبه أعظم من أن يكتفي بالرحم مرة واحدة
بخلاف الزاني فإنه يكفيه¹¹ عقوبة وطهارة رجم¹² مرة
واللوطي لا يكفيه ذلك .

وسئل ابن عباس¹³ ما حد اللوطي قال نظر أعلامنا
في القرية فيأتي منها¹⁴ ثم يتبع¹⁵ بالحجارة .
وقال مجاهد إن الذي يعمل ذلك العمل يعني¹⁶ عمل

¹ MS. بن.

² This word is at the end of a line, and there is no room for the whole of the final letter.

³ MS. الفاعل. The word is at the end of a line, leaving no room for the last letter.

⁴ MS. omits. ⁵ MS. يعني. ⁶ MS. يحيا. ⁷ MS. بعد. ⁸ MS. قتله.

⁹ MS. رجم. ¹⁰ MS. بالرجم. ¹¹ MS. يكفه. ¹² MS. ورحم.

¹³ MS. وسئل بن عباس. ¹⁴ MS. منه. ¹⁵ MS. يتبع.

¹⁶ MS. يعني.

قوم لوط لو اغتسل بكل قطرة نزلت¹ من السماء وكل قطرة في الأرض لم يزل نجسا .
وقال الزهري اللوطي يرحم أحسن أو لم يحسن سنة ماضية .

وعن واثلة بن² الأسقع رفعه قال سحاق النساء بينهن لواط وقيل إن غشيان بعضهن بعضا كان على عهد تبع وهن أصحاب الرس³ لهن سبعون جلبابا⁴ من نار ودروع⁵ من نار وتاج من نار . أعلموا بهذا نساءكم .
وقيل لمحمد بن علي عذب الله نساء قوم لوط بعمل رجالهم . فقال الله أعدل من ذلك . بل استغنى الرجال بالرجال والنساء بالنساء .

عن حورثة⁶ [F. 61b.] بن أسماء عن عمه قال حجبت فنزلنا منزلا ومعنا امرأة فنامت فانتبّهت وحيّة منطوية قد جمعت رأسها مع ذنبها بين يديها⁷ . فها لنا ذلك وارتحلنا فلم نزل منطوية عليها لا يضرّها شيء حتى دخلنا أنصاب الحرم فانتابت . فدخلنا مكة فقضينا نسكنا

¹ MS. نزلت.² MS. ابن.³ MS. جلباب.⁴ MS. ذروع.⁵ MS. أعلموا.⁶ MS. حورثة.⁷ MS. يديها.

وانصرفنا حتّى إذا كنّا بالمكان الذي تطوّقت عليها
فنامت فاستيقظت¹ والحية منظوية عليها . ثمّ صفرت
الحية وإذا بالوادي يسيل علينا حيّات فنهشتها حتّى
بقيت عظاما . فقلنا لجارية لها ويلك أخبرينا عن هذه
المرأة² . قالت بغت ثلاث مرّات كلّ مرّة تلد ولدا فإذا
وضعت سحرت³ التنّور ثمّ ألقت فيه .

وعن عكرمة قال لعن رسول الله صلّى الله عليه
وسلم البيت الذي يدخله المخنث .

وعن عثمان رضي الله عنه أنّه جلد رجلا قال لرجل
ياخنث عشرين جلدة .

وسئل طاوس رحمه الله عن الرجل يأتي المرأة في
عجزها⁴ فقال تملك كفر إنّما هلكت قوم لوط بذلك⁵
صنعت الرجال بالرجال والنساء بالنساء⁶ .

¹ MS. فاستيقظ . The word comes at the end of the line, where there is no room to finish it.

² MS. المرأة .

³ MS. شجرت .

⁴ MS. عليه .

⁵ MS. باقى .

⁶ MS. عجزها .

⁷ MS. بذلك .

⁸ MS. بالنساء .

VI

MAJD AL-DĪN

IBN Khallikān gives this author's name as Abū'l Futūḥ ¹ Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ² Al-Ṭūsī Al-Ghazālī,³ and his *laqab* as Majd al-Dīn. There are different opinions about his *laqab*. On a MS. in Berlin (Ahlwardt 2396) he is called Shihāb al-Dīn, and on the title page of the Berlin copy of the *Bawāriq al-ilmā'*, he is called Najm al-Dīn. As titles prefaced to MSS. are not necessarily correct, and as there seems to be no certainty in the matter, or method of proving which is the correct *laqab*, it is best to accept that given by Ibn Khallikān.

Majd al-Dīn was born at Ṭūs and was a brother of the famous Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī. He was a doctor of the Shāfi'ī *madhhab*, but is said to have been more interested in public preaching than in studying matters of the religious law. Yet, when his brother gave up lecturing in the Nizāmīya *madrasa* in Baghdād, he took his place for a time. He travelled widely, associating with Ṣūfīs, but in general was inclined to solitude. Ibn Khallikān credits him with having had the power of performing miracles.⁴ He died at Qazwīn in 520/1126.⁵

Brockelmann mentions seven works produced by him.⁶ Among his literary productions was a summary in one volume of his brother's *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, which he called *Lubāb al-iḥyā'* (Kernel of the *Iḥyā'*).

¹ This name is also given in Ahlwardt, 2396.

² "Ibn Aḥmad" is mentioned only by Ibn Khallikān (i, 79).

³ Ḥājjī Khalifa, ii, 2450, gives "Al-Ghazālī al-Ṭūsī", but this is the wrong order, since Ṭūs was Majd al-Dīn's birthplace.

⁴ These details are taken from Ibn Khallikān (De Slane), i, 79 f.

⁵ Loc. cit.; Ḥājjī Khalifa, ii, 2450.

⁶ *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, i, 426.

His work, translated below, shows that he was a man of decided opinions who could give a reason for the faith that was in him. He is perfectly convinced that he is right, and so he deals hard blows to his opponents. One of his favourite methods of argument is to face his opponents with a tradition which shows that the Prophet approved of what they condemn, so indicating that they are criticizing the Prophet. Then comes the smashing blow, "If that flutters in anyone's thought, he is an infidel by general consent."

Although his famous brother wrote at length on the subject of listening to music, Majd al-Dīn by no means copied him when he wrote on the same subject. The *Bawāriq al-ilmā'* is an independent work in which Majd al-Dīn deals with the matter in an original manner. If one compares it with his brother's work, it is obvious that, even where they cover the same ground, Majd al-Dīn expresses his own thoughts in his own way. He begins by justifying audition and describing the circumstances in which it can most suitably be conducted.¹ Then follows a long section in which he takes up and demolishes the arguments of his opponents.² Next comes a section in which he discusses the nature and value of audition as a spiritual exercise.³ This is followed by a very valuable section in which he describes in detail how a *dhikr* should be conducted, quoting Qur'ānic and poetical passages which may be suitably used on such occasions.⁴ Then the work ends on a despondent note in which he voices the plaint heard in all ages, that things are not what they once were.⁵ Altogether it is a very valuable and lively work, infinitely superior to the arid series of quotations produced by Ibn abī'l-Dunyā.

¹ pp. 69-75.

⁴ pp. 104-114.

² pp. 75-97.

⁵ pp. 114-118.

³ pp. 97-104.

VII

BAWĀRIQ AL-ILMĀ': MANUSCRIPTS

THERE are three MSS. extant of Majd al-Dīn's *Bawāriq al-ilmā'* :—

B. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek (Ahlwardt, 5505, folios 17*a* to 36*b*), 20 folios.

C. Cairo, *Dār al-kutub al-miṣrīya* (*Taṣawwuf*, 377), 9 folios.

P. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (De Slane, 4580), 12 folios.

Ahlwardt gives 750/1349 as the date of B ; C is dated 1138/1725-6 ; and De Slane places P in the seventeenth century.

The text given below is based mainly on B and P. Of the three MSS. B is the most complete. After folio 26 it omits a passage which would occupy a complete folio ; this is given in P and partly in C. P omits the whole of folio 33*a* in B, and also from the middle of folio 35*a* to the end (folio 36*b*). Otherwise B and P compare very closely, allowing for slight variations such as always occur between MSS. While P is written in a neater hand than B, and has very much fewer omissions of diacritical points, B is on the whole more accurate in the wording, and therefore, when there was any doubt, preference has been given to B in preparing the text below.

C is in a hopeless condition, and therefore it has been felt advisable to ignore it for the main part. To deal with it faithfully would almost necessitate reproducing the whole work, so many are the variations. It may represent someone's excerpts from the work. Passages are out of order, and there are repetitions and omissions. The latter part of the work is wanting. To indicate its condition an analysis of its relation to the text as given below is as follows :—

F. 1*a*, lines 1, 2, title.

F. 1*a*, line 3 to f. 1*b*, line 2 represent pp. 119 to 122, line 2.

F. 1*b*, lines 2-7 agree with p. 123, lines 5-11 ; lines 8-10 have extra material ; line 11 agrees generally with p. 123, line 13 ; lines 15-18 represent p. 125, lines 1-4 ; lines 10-15 agree with p. 125, lines 5-9 ; lines 18-21 same as p. 125, lines 12 ff. ; line 21 to f. 2*a*, line 4, have extra material.

F. 2*a*, lines 5-12 represent p. 126, lines 1-9, with an extra passage in the middle ; lines 12-16 represent p. 126, line 10 to p. 127, line 2, with variations ; lines 16-21 compare with p. 127, lines 3-10.

F. 2*b*, lines 1-5 perhaps represent p. 127, lines 11-13 with addits ; lines 5-10 give passage on p. 127, line 3 to p. 128, line 4.

F. 3*a*, lines 9-12 are a corrupt form of p. 128, line 8 to p. 129, line 4.

F. 2*b*, lines 10-15 have extra material ; lines 15-18 compare with p. 129, lines 7-9.

F. 3*a*, line 3, is reminiscent of p. 130, lines 4, 5 ; lines 4-9 have extra material.

F. 4*a*, line 11, has the quotation on p. 131, line 2.

F. 3*a*, lines 12-21, compare with p. 132.

F. 8*b*, line 19, is reminiscent of p. 132, lines 8 f.

F. 3*b*, lines 1-3, represent p. 133, lines 1-4, with omissions ; lines 3-5 have extra material.

F. 4*a*, lines 12-20, represent p. 133, line 11 to p. 134, line 6, with variations.

F. 2*b*, line 18, to f. 3*a*, line 2, has extra material, the beginning of which suggests p. 134, lines 7 f.

F. 5*a*, lines 4-6, give quotation on p. 134, lines 13 f.

F. 3*b*, lines 16-21, have extra material.

F. 5*b*, lines 5-8, represent p. 137, lines 5-8.

F. 3*b*, lines 5-16, have extra material, the latter part reminiscent of p. 137, lines 10 f.

F. 4*a*, lines 1-8, compare with p. 138, line 7 to p. 139, line 6 ; lines 8-12 have extra material ; line 20 to f. 4*b*, line 8, has extra material.

F. 4*b*, lines 12-16, agree with p. 139, lines 7-11 ; line 16 to f. 5*a*, line 1, is a comment on the preceding.

F. 5*a*, lines 1–7, agree with p. 140, lines 3–9 ; lines 7–8 have extra material ; lines 8–10 are a shortened form of p. 140, lines 10 ff. ; lines 11–13 have extra material.

F. 6*a*, lines 18–19, repeat material on p. 140, lines 11 ff.

F. 5*b*, line 11 to f. 6*a*, line 1, represent p. 141, line 2, to p. 142, line 2.

F. 5*a*, lines 13–17, are connected with passage ending p. 142, line 3.

F. 4*b*, lines 8–12, are connected with passage beginning p. 142, line 4.

F. 5*a*, line 17 to f. 5*b*, line 3, compares with p. 142, lines 4–13.

F. 5*b*, lines 3–5, have extra material ; lines 9–11 have extra material.

F. 6*a*, lines 2–10, have extra material.

F. 6*a*, line 19, to f. 6*b*, line 4, compare with p. 147, line 11, to p. 148, line 8.

F. 6*b*, lines 4–8, represent, with omissions, p. 148, line 9, to p. 149, line 2 ; lines 8–11 have extra material ; lines 11–12 represent p. 148, lines 11 f.

F. 6*a*, lines 10–18, agree generally with p. 150, line 8 to p. 151, line 2.

F. 7*a*, lines 1–6, deal with the matter of p. 150, lines 6 f. and p. 151, lines 4–7.

F. 8*b*, line 13, to f. 9*a*, line 1, suggest portions of pp. 150 f.

F. 7*a*, lines 6–13, agree generally with p. 152, lines 1–10 ; lines 13–18 give passage on p. 152, line 11, to p. 153, line 4 with variations and an inversion.

F. 6*b*, lines 13–19, agree with p. 154, lines 4–6, 9–12 ; lines 19–21 have extra material.

F. 8*b*, lines 4–13, are reminiscent of p. 155, lines 5 ff.

F. 8*a*, lines 18–19, are like p. 156, lines 4–6.

F. 7*a*, lines 18–19, agree with p. 156, lines 4–7 ; line 19 to f. 7*b*, line 2, have extra material.

F. 7*b*, lines 2–18, give p. 157, line 7, to p. 158, line 13 in a confused way ; lines 18–21 have extra material ; line 21

to f. 8a, line 1, seems a confusion of parts of passage in f. 7b, lines 2-18.

F. 8a, lines 1-7, in parts resembles p. 159, lines 5-13; lines 7-11 represent p. 159, line 13 to p. 160, line 5, with omissions and a variation at the end.

F. 2a, lines 4-5, give the tradition on p. 165, lines 5 f.

F. 8a, lines 11-18, have extra material; line 19 to f. 8b, line 4, have extra material.

F. 9a, lines 1-13, have extra material.

From this it is clear that an enormous number of critical notes would be necessary to deal faithfully with the MS. It has been used occasionally when it gives a better reading than the others, but generally it is ignored. It proved to be useful in parts of the passage missing from B.

The MSS. are all in good condition and are legible. P is the neatest. C is written in a very clumsy hand, but it presents fewer problems of decipherment than either of the others. The characteristics of spelling correspond closely to those mentioned in connection with the MS. of Ibn abī'l-Dunyā's work, and the words have been treated similarly.

VIII

BAWĀRIQ AL-ILMA' : TRANSLATION

IN the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate. And Allāh bless our master, Muḥammad. Praise be to Allāh, who caused the servants to hear in the first covenant the address, "Am I not your Lord?"¹ to make perfect the rank of the branches of gnosis, who perfected the intellects of the seekers to comprehend the benefits of the works and the graces, and who removed the veils of their spirits which prevent from rising to the Unitarian Presence by taking away the deviations and vicissitudes, who enslaved their hearts by the light of certainty, and who cleared the mirror of their souls by the powers of achievement (*tamkīn*)² so that they found the marks of the revelations and were free from the bondage of desires, and their bodies revolved in audition in search for freedom of the spirit and in eagerness for being granted the glorious things of the revelations; for they are among the most perfect characteristics of the (God-) fearing man. And I invoke blessing on His prophet, the seal of the apostles, who combines favours and branches of gnosis. Allāh bless him and his Companions with a blessing which will raise him who utters it to the utmost bounds of blessings and noble things.

Says the slave of Allāh³ who needs the granting of the outpouring of the grace of Allāh (Exalted is He!), who seeks

¹ Qur., vii, 171. All mankind is said to have been brought forth from the loins of Adam and to have acknowledged dependence on Allāh. Cf. Al-Kalābādhi (Arberry), 166.

² *Tamkīn* is the highest stage on the mystic path. Al-Qushairi, *Risāla*, p. 48, in speaking of *tamkīn*, says: "One of the *shaiḥs* said: The journey of the seekers has reached self-mastery; and when they master the self, they have arrived." Cf. *Kashf al-maḥjūb*, 371 f.; M. Smith, *Early Mysticism*, 203.

³ "B" and "C" have 'Ubaidallāh, but this is probably an error, as it does not appear to have been one of the author's names. If it is to be retained, it should be translated: "The little slave of Allāh."

refuge in the presence of Allāh, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazālī—May Allāh (Exalted is He!) join him to His pious servants in the abode of fixity: One of the upright who turn towards Allāh in joy and grief asked me to write for his sake in particular and for the seekers in general, a letter about audition, its benefits, and the conditions of performing it, that its benefits might appear testified to in the Qur’ān, the Ḥadīth, and the deeds of the Companions, and to refute those who reject it, and about the things to be guarded against which are necessary for them by law. I adduce the Book, the usage (*sunna*),¹ what is handed down and what is perceived by the intellect as proof that he who says that audition is absolutely forbidden must acknowledge that the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) did what is forbidden, looked at what is forbidden, and confirmed others in what is forbidden. If that flutters in anyone’s mind, he is an infidel by general consent, and the paths of the favours and the indication are closed to him.

So when I saw the genuineness of his desire, I acceded to his request and obtained his favour by writing this book, after seeking guidance from the presence of the bounteous King; and I have called it “The lightning-flashes of indication concerning the refutation of those who declare audition forbidden in general.” No one must find fault with² what we have mentioned in this book without first of all understanding perfectly all that is in it; and then he will find no occasion at all for finding fault. We ask Allāh, the Mighty, to cause benefit by it. Verily He is the Near, the Answerer.

Know (Allāh adorn your heart with the light of obedience and enfold you in the truth of the testimony³ and the inter-

¹ *Ḥadīth* is a tradition handed down orally; *sunna* is a usage, whether handed down orally or not. Cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, p. 11.

² This translation of the verb *awrada*, followed by ‘*ala*’, which clearly suits the context, is not given in most dictionaries. I have found it only in Fagnan, p. 185.

³ The declaration of faith, “There is no god but Allāh. Muḥammad is Allāh’s apostle.”

cession!)¹ that the audition of this party is a reference to the observation of strange secrets in the delicate poems which the *qawwāl*² recites while joined to the ecstasy which arises in the heart of the gnostic (*ʿārif*) who works and the novice (*murīd*) who is perfect. It induces them to put off resistance, to be drawn to the presence of the One, the Powerful, and to ponder delicate things and secrets. And for the removal of these veils they have chosen audition with beautiful voices at most times, after fulfilling the things which are commanded,³ simply because man's nature is inclined to the voice, inherently disposed to produce things which benefit him and repulse injurious things by means of it. Then when there arises in him increase of arrangements of notes and spiritual analogies which are called music, it⁴ prefers them to everything else.⁵ So when a person hears the analogies which pertain to notes which include the realities (*ma'ānī*) which pertain to taste⁶ and the truths which pertain to the Unity, the being inclines to all those, and every bodily member receives its portion separately.⁷ The hearing [receives] the things of the unrestrained analogies; the sight, the analogies of the movements; the heart, the delicate things of the realities; and the intellect, the inner consciousness

¹ On the day of Judgment Muḥammad will intercede for his followers.

² The man who chants. He may chant poetry, or passages of the Qur'ān.

³ i.e. the prescribed daily prayers. Mystical practices do not absolve one from performing the regular religious duties. Cf. *Qūt al-qulūb*, iii, 66 f. On the danger of Christian mystics considering themselves superior to ordinary rites, cf. E. Underhill, *The Essentials of Mysticism*, 153.

⁴ The subject is man's nature, as the verb is feminine referring to *ṭabī'a* (nature).

⁵ Lit. "to what is other than it". The pron. suff. is masc., and so refers to *ṣawt* (voice).

⁶ Al-Qushairī, *Risāla*, p. 46, says *dhawq* (taste) and *shurb* (drinking) are terms used by mystics with reference to the fruits of divine revelations. Mystic practices give them taste of the realities (*dhawq al-ma'ānī*), and when they develop further, they attain to *shurb*. *Kashf al-mahjūb*, 392, says *dhawq* and *shurb* resemble one another, but the former refers to both pleasure and pain, while the latter refers only to pleasure.

⁷ Cf. Al-Qushairī, *Risāla*, 186, where audition is said to provide something for every part of the body.

of the unrestrained analogies.¹ When the bodily members are united in affairs which are suitable, the law of contention is removed, and the law of mutual agreement appears. Contention pertains to darkness and mutual agreement to light, and when the darkness is removed and the light spread abroad, matters and verities are revealed which could not be reached by a thousand efforts.

Now such audition as this must have the time, the place, and the brethren.² As for the time, it is in periods when their hearts are serene and they desire the association to seek the good pleasure of their Beloved, to strip their outer nature of sensual characteristics, to free their inner nature from attachment to seeking degrees and obtaining stations (*maqāmāt*), and to unify their secret thoughts when the gifts come down. So when they associate together in such a time as this, the lights of the hearts of some are reflected to the hearts of others, and they increase by that association in light, manifestation, clearness, and gladness.

And as for the place, it is such as hermitages and monasteries ; and mosques are more fitting, since a mosque is built for the bodily worship³ and the heart is created for gnosis and the appearance of Allāh (Exalted is He !) in it, as is said in the tradition (*khābar*), “ Neither my earth nor my heaven contains me, but the heart of my believing servant contains me ”⁴ ; and it is the alighting-place of the divine lights. So when the possessor of a heart⁵ is stirred in a mosque

¹ The various actions of mystics engaged in audition represent spiritual meanings. Those who engage in the practice attain to an understanding of the inner meaning of their actions.

² This saying is attributed to Al-Junaid (d. 297/910). *Al-Luma'*, 272 ; *Al-Qushairi, Risāla*, 181. Cf. D. B. Macdonald, *JRAS.*, 1902, p. 1.

³ The reference is to the prayers in which various postures are adopted and words are uttered. This differs from the more inward mystical states.

⁴ Quoted in *Qūt al-qulūb*, i, 175 ; ii, 155, with two slight verbal differences, and with some additional words in the latter.

⁵ The reference is to a spiritual faculty by which one receives knowledge of God. Cf. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, pp. 50, 113, 159, 236. Cf. also *JRAS.* (1901), 717 f.

on account of the increase of the light of his heart and the serenity of his soul, it is more worthy than the moving of the body of another in bodily prayer without the presence [of the light]. And there is no disagreement that if one enters a mosque and occupies himself with formal prayer while his heart is laden by the Whisperer,¹ by imaginations, and by things which the Lawgiver² forbade, but is striving to remove those hindrances from his heart, entering the mosque is not at all forbidden. Nay, more than that, the entrance into a mosque of a wicked wrongdoer who consumes what is forbidden is confirmed, while it is known by the related facts that his heart is occupied with thought about wrongful acts towards people and taking their goods, but he is formally occupied with prayer. His entrance is not forbidden, so how can it be forbidden to him who desires the purity of his soul, the cleansing of his heart, and the serenity of his spirit by listening to wonderful things in speech and comprehending delicate things in poems which uphold the establishment of his relationship to the angels and the cutting off of his relationship to the devils? So when the people of serenity assemble in the place of worship desiring the union of the serenity of one another's hearts, the increase of their lights, and the making abundant of the serenity of their souls, their souls are strengthened by the light of that place, their states increase, and their essences become perfect, since every place which is built for worship has attached to it a spirit and a light from the unseen world and increases in sanctity and exaltation; like a stable, for when it is made into a mosque, honour and exaltation are attached to it and it becomes a place for angels after having been a place of uncleanness and devils. So sitting in it when it is a mosque produces illumination of the inner nature (*al-bāṭin*). The Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "The mosque is the house of every pious person."

¹ i.e. the Evil One. Cf. Qur. cxiv, 4.

² i.e. Muḥammad.

And as for the brethren, they are in three divisions : (1) The brethren of the name, i.e. those who share in the name of faith. Allāh (Exalted is He !) said, "The believers are only brethren."¹ So it is not allowable to associate with these always ; nay, they should be associated with for a moment to give them what they may benefit by. (2) And the brethren of will and love, like the common people who help them with their property and persons to attain the ways of serenity. And even if these are not characterized by their characteristics, it is allowable to associate with them, for by the power of will and sincerity they acquire some of the lights of the hearts of the people of serenity, just as a slender candle acquires some of the heat of the sun. Then when they return to the common people, others benefit by them. (3) And the brethren of serenity, ecstasies (*mawājīd*),² gnosis, seclusion, taste, longing, and perfection. Now these are the brethren in truth.

So when the time, the place, and the brethren are united, audition is necessary for the people of knowledge (*'irfān*), perfection, serenity, and union, just as the journeying of the ignorant to the learned is necessary to know the illumination of religion. And it is encouraged in the novices and allowable in the lovers,³ in imitation of the people of serenity and perfection in their movements and quiescences. The Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "He who resembles a people is one of them ; and he who loves a people will be gathered along with them."⁴ And Allāh (Exalted is He !) said, "O, you who believe, fear Allāh and be with the sincere ones"⁵ ; i.e. if you are not of their number, then associate with them. And He (Exalted is He !) said, "Had Allāh known any good

¹ Qur. xlix, 10.

² The dictionaries usually omit this form. Dozy, *Supplément*, explains that it is a plural of *wajd*.

³ i.e. advanced mystics.

⁴ Cf. *Qūt al-qulūb*, iv, 213. Another version is given in ii, 181.

⁵ Qur. ix, 120.

in them, He would have caused them to hear”¹; i.e. truth, wisdom, warnings, and rebukes. Now His saying, “He would have caused them to hear” is too general to be Qur’ān, or Tradition, or poems, etc. And he (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, “Verily, in poetry there is wisdom.”² So Allāh does not cause him in whom He knows no good to hear wisdom, gnosis, warnings, and rebukes, and at the same time He does not cause him to hear what is good and true in poems and audition. And if one finds no truth, wisdom, and benefits in a matter which he has rejected, then the rejection is against himself.³

In the rejection of listening to singing and listening to the playing of the tambourine and to beautiful voices there is opposition to the usage (*sunna*); and belief in prohibiting them is unbelief, and to turn away and refrain from them is wickedness. A tradition is handed down in Al-Bukhārī and Muslim, from Al-Rubaiyī‘, daughter of Mu‘awwidh ibn ‘Afrā’,⁴ she said: The Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) came and sat on my bed when some⁵ little girls were with me playing the tambourine and bewailing those of my forbears who had been killed at the battle of Badr.⁶ Then one of them said, “And among us is a prophet who knows what will happen to-morrow.” Then he (Allāh bless him, etc.) said “Leave this, and say what you were saying.” And the poetry was,

“Peoples fought at Barqa Suhmud with striking and thrusting and Indian swords.”

Then one of them turned to what she had been saying, “And among us is a prophet who knows what will happen to-morrow.” Now this tradition indicates that he (Allāh bless him, etc.) listened to the sound of the tambourine and singing and

¹ Qur. viii, 23.

² Cf. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, v, p. 125; Ibn Māja, *Adab*, 41; Abū Dāwud, *Adab*, 87.

³ i.e. he really condemns himself by his attitude.

⁴ Cf. Al-Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, 48.

⁵ B and P have the dual.

⁶ The first battle which Muḥammad fought against the Meccans (A.H. 2).

poetry from the little girls, listening to whose voices when they are grown up is forbidden, unless there is some special reason¹; yet he (Allāh bless him, etc.) was present listening to them. Now, *a fortiori*, listening to singing and the sound of the tambourine from a man is permitted; but what is one to say when he ordered the little girl to sing poetry and play the tambourine, since he said, "Say what you were saying"?

Now a matter pertains to necessity when it is freed from the contexts, like His saying (Exalted is He!), "Establish the prayer"²; or to encouragement, like His saying (Exalted is He!), "Write for them if you know any good in them"³; or to permission, like His saying (Exalted is He!), "And when you put off the *iḥrām*, hunt."⁴ And here the necessity is possible, because he (Allāh bless him, etc.) ordered her by word of mouth to repeat what she was saying while he was listening to its purport. Now when he (Allāh bless him, etc.) asks a thing, listening to its purport, it is necessary to mention it; like His saying (Exalted is He!), "O, you who believe, respond to Allāh and the apostle when he summons you."⁵ And following him is necessary according to His saying (Exalted is He!), "Say, If you love Allāh, then follow me."⁶ And to ask one to express one's meaning in words which consist of singing is not generally necessary; so it [i.e. singing] remains permissible, according to His saying (Exalted is He!), "You have had in Allāh's apostle a good

¹ Women are secluded from men who are not very near relatives. An instance where there would be a special reason for listening to the voice of a woman who was not closely related, is when she comes with a case before a *qāḍī*.

² Qur. vi, 71.

³ Qur. xxiv, 33.

⁴ Qur. v, 3. The point of quoting these verses is that the first is a command which must be obeyed; the second recommends a course of action without making it obligatory; the third gives permission to do something without making it obligatory, or even recommending it.

⁵ Qur. viii, 24.

⁶ Qur. iii, 29.

example.”¹ And they have said in the fundamentals of jurisprudence that his bare action indicates permission according to Mālik,² encouragement according to Al-Shāfi'ī³ and necessity according to Ibn Suraij,⁴ Abū Sa'īd al-Iṣṭakhrī⁵ and Ibn Khairān.⁶ He who holds to permission adduces as argument that what he (peace be upon him!)⁷ did is neither disapproved, nor prohibited. And the principle is, that there is no necessitating or encouragement without a context, so when there is none, permission is left. We say that what prevails in his action is necessitating and encouragement. He who holds to encouragement adduces as argument His saying (Exalted is He!), “You have had in Allāh's apostle a good example;” and that indicates preponderance. And the principle is, that there is no necessitating without a context, so when there is none, encouragement is left. And he who holds to necessitating adduces as argument His saying (Exalted is He!), “Say, if you love Allāh, then follow me and Allāh will love you⁸;” “And what the apostle has brought you, take it.”⁹ And the Companions are agreed on the necessity of washing when the two places of circumcision meet together,¹⁰ according to the saying of 'Ā'ishā, the mother of the faithful (Allāh be pleased with her!),

¹ Qur. xxxiii, 21.

² The famous jurisconsult of Al-Madina who gives his name to one of the four schools of canon law among Sunnis. d. 179 (795-6). Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, iii, 205 ff.

³ Another jurisconsult who gives his name to one of the four schools. d. 204 (820). Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, iv, 252 ff.

⁴ A great Shāfi'ī teacher. d. 306 (918). Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, ii, 421.

⁵ A celebrated Shāfi'ī doctor, said to have been equal in calibre to Ibn Suraij. d. 328 (940). Cf. *Fihrist*, p. 300, where Iṣṭanḥarī appears by mistake; Ibn Khall. (De Slane), i, 374 f.

⁶ A Shāfi'ī jurisconsult. He is one of those who felt it wrong to accept the office of *qāḍī*, and was imprisoned for his refusal when it was offered to him. (Cf. p. 115). d. 320 (932). Cf. Ibn Khall. (De Slane), i, 417 f.

⁷ This phrase is used in the MSS. instead of the usual invocation of blessing on the Prophet.

⁸ Qur. iii, 29.

⁹ Qur. lix, 7.

¹⁰ A euphemism for sexual intercourse. Cf. Lane, *Lexiḥṣn*, 704.

“ Allāh’s apostle and I had intercourse, then we washed ” ¹; while the Companions are agreed at the same time that there is no washing at the time of coming close together without an emission,² holding to his saying (Allāh bless him, etc.) “ Water pertains only to water.” ³ In the same way, he (Allāh bless him, etc.) heard the sound of the tambourine and singing and asked it to be repeated; so according to what some of those who are versed in the fundamentals of jurisprudence say, it is necessary; according to what others say, it is encouraged; and according to what others say, it is permissible. But no one has held the view of prohibition.⁴ So he who says that listening to singing and the sound of the tambourine is unlawful, has declared unlawful what is necessary, or encouraged, or permissible, and a mighty sin cleaves to him.

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim have related on the authority of ‘Ā’isha (Allāh be pleased with her!) that she said,⁵ Abū Bakr (Allāh, exalted is He, be pleased with him!) came to see her when two little girls were with her playing the tambourine (and a version says they were singing what the Helpers ⁶ said to one another at the battle of Bu‘āth ⁷), and

¹ Cf. Muslim, i, 398; Ibn Māja, *Tayammum*, 21; i, p. 109.

² Cf. Ṭayālīsī, 2185, 2449; Ibn Māja, i, p. 109n; Wensinck, *Handbook*, p. 86.

³ Cf. Muslim, i, 395. The commentary says some declare this tradition to be abrogated, and discusses different interpretations. Cf. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, iii, 29.

⁴ In this paragraph the author makes it clear that he believes that what the Prophet did is either binding on his followers or to be recommended, though some say it merely indicates that an action is permissible. But, as he points out, these three are the only possible opinions. One cannot prohibit what the Prophet did.

⁵ The tradition is obviously quoted from memory. Different forms of it are given in Al-Bukhārī, *Idain*, 25; *Jihād*, 80; *Manāqib al-anṣār*, 46; Muslim, ii, 299 f., but the form given in the text does not agree with any of them in detail.

⁶ The people of Al-Madīna who welcomed Muḥammad on the occasion of the *Hijra*.

⁷ A place near Al-Madīna where a battle was fought between the Aus and the *Khazraj*, tribes of Al-Madīna, some years before the *Hijra*. Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, i, 768.

the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) was covered up with his garment. Then Abū Bakr ¹ (Allāh, exalted is He, be pleased with him!) rebuked them, but the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) uncovered his face and said, "Leave them alone, Abū Bakr, for they are feast days." This tradition, by its clearness, indicates the permissibility of listening to the tambourine and singing and being present at them, and the refutation of those who reject them. And in it there is a demonstration of rebuke of him who rejects [audition] and a repulsing of him from rejection, because he (Allāh bless him, etc.) forbade the rejection of it. So he who says that listening to singing is forbidden, and playing the tambourine is forbidden, and being present at them is forbidden, is as though he said that the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) listened to what is forbidden, and prevented him who forbade what is forbidden. And he who believes that is an infidel by general consent.

If it is said that this is allowable on a feast day and no other, because he (Allāh bless him, etc.) restricted his permission to a feast day and on it, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal ² says, We hold that it is generally agreed that particularizing the cause does not prevent the law from being general, like His saying (Exalted is He!), "Verily those who disbelieve, it is the same to them whether you warn them or do not warn them; they will not believe." ³ It came down concerning Abū Jahl, ⁴ Abū Lahab, ⁵ 'Utba, ⁶ Shaiba, ⁷ and 'Abdallāh

¹ The father of 'Ā'isha, Muḥammad's favourite wife, and later the first Caliph in Islām. d. 13 (634). Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, i, 80 ff.

² One of the jurisconsults who has given his name to a school of canon law among Sunnis. d. 241 (855). Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, i, 188 ff.

³ Qur. ii, 5.

⁴ An influential Makkan who opposed Muḥammad. Killed at the battle of Badr. Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, i, 83.

⁵ An uncle of Muḥammad who was hostile to him and is denounced in the Qur'ān, *Sūra*, cxi. Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, i, 97 f.

⁶ An opponent of Muḥammad in Makka. Killed at the battle of Badr. Cf. Muir, *The Life of Moḥammad* (ed. Weir), 60, 110, 228, etc.

⁷ Another opponent who was killed at Badr. *Ibid.*, 110^f, 222 ff.

ibn Salūl,¹ but the ordinance is general concerning all infidels. And in the tradition which has been mentioned there is an indication that listening to the tambourine, singing, and poems is allowable on days of worship and other days in every legalized state in which are joy of the heart and well-being of the inner nature.

And in the *Musnad*² of Aḥmad³ [it is reported] that the Abyssinians were playing the tambourine in the presence of Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) and dancing and saying, "Muḥammad is an upright servant." Then he (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "What are they saying?" [The bystanders] said, They are saying, "Muḥammad is an upright servant."⁴ This tradition by its clearness indicates the permissibility of being present at dancing and the permissibility of listening to the sound of the tambourine and singing. So if anyone says that dancing is forbidden, and playing the tambourine and singing are forbidden, that is an acknowledgment from him that the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) was present at what is forbidden and confirmed others in what is forbidden. And if that flutters in anyone's mind, he is an infidel by general consent.

But if he who disapproves says, "If this is allowable in the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.), why do you say it is

¹ A chief of the *Khazraj* in Al-Madīna, who opposed Muḥammad. His father was Ubaīy. Salūl was his mother. Ibid. See index. Al-Nasā'i, iv, 67 f., says that, in spite of the protests of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, Muḥammad prayed at 'Abdallāh's funeral. But he was the last unbeliever for whom he prayed, as *Sūra* ix, 85 f., was revealed soon afterwards prohibiting any such thing.

² Collections of tradition are *musnad* or *muṣannaf*. In the former (generally earlier) type, they are arranged according to the Companion to whom they are traced; in the latter according to subject matter.

³ Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal.

⁴ I have not discovered a form of the tradition which speaks of the Abyssinians playing the tambourine. Muslim, ii, 301, speaks of them *yazfinūna*, which the commentary explains as meaning dancing. Cf. *JRAS.*, 1902, p. 8. References to them playing in the mosque with spears in Muḥammad's presence are frequent. Cf. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, vi, 233, 242, etc.

allowable in us ? ” we say, The proof of its permissibility is that he (Allāh bless him; etc.) was a lawgiver, and it is not allowable for a lawgiver to conceal any matter concerning which there is a legal ordinance, according to His saying (Exalted is He!), “ Verily, those who conceal the proofs and guidance we have sent down after we have made it clear to men in the book, those Allāh curses, and the cursers curse them ”¹; and according to His saying (Exalted is He!), “ And when Allāh made a covenant with those who were brought the Scripture [saying], You must certainly make it clear to men and not conceal it. . . . ”² So had the performance of dancing, and being present at audition, singing, and playing the tambourine been unlawful, it would have been necessary for him, by the ordinance of this verse, to draw other people’s attention to it.³ And had that been lawful for him, but not for others, it would have been necessary for him to make it clear, as has come down in the tradition (*khābar*) that he (Allāh bless him, etc.) forbade them to combine [a series of fasts], then did it himself. When they questioned him, he said, “ I am not like one of you ; I spend the night with my Lord, He giving me food and drink.”⁴ And since he was present at dancing, and listening to the tambourine and singing without prohibiting anyone from that, it indicates its absolute permissibility.

Now if he who disapproves says that dancing is sport (*li‘b*) and sport is unlawful, because he (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, “ *Dad* (diversion) has nothing to do with me, and I have nothing to do with *dad*,”⁵ and *dad* is sport, we say, This tradition applies particularly to forbidden sport, like backgammon, gambling, and such like, because it has come down in Al-Bukhārī from ‘Ā’ishā (Allāh be pleased with her!)

¹ Qur. ii, 154.

² Qur. iii, 184.

³ Cf. Al-Bukhārī, *Tauhīd*, 46 ; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, vi, 241, 266.

⁴ Cf. Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaum*, 49, etc. ; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, ii, 237.

⁵ *Tāj al-‘Arūs*, ii, 346, and *Lisān al-‘arab*, xviii, 277, give this tradition with the clauses inverted. Cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, 862.

as follows, The Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) was standing at the door of my house while the Abyssinians were playing with their spears in the mosque and I was looking at their play.¹ So if playing in the mosque is allowable in the presence of the Lawgiver, then, *a fortiori*, [it is allowable] in others. Therefore if anyone says that sport is absolutely unlawful, that is an acknowledgment on his part that the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) looked at what is unlawful and confirmed what is unlawful. And if that flutters in anyone's thought, he is an infidel by general consent.

And if he who disapproves says, It has come down in the tradition that "there is no sport except in three things, in shooting, and the horse, and a man's disporting himself with his wife",² we say, This is a restriction of the particular owing to being occupied with it, and that does not prove the prohibition of other things, as Allāh (Exalted is He!) said, "You are only a warner."³ The word "only" is for restriction, and in it there is an indication that giving warning applies particularly to you because you are the seal of the prophets.⁴ But that does not give the full sense of restriction, since he (Allāh bless him, etc.) was a conveyor of good news, an announcer, etc.; so it is the same here. He has mentioned these three with the restriction, either because there is in them what causes the completeness of the victory of religion in shooting and the horse, or mutual love and affection to establish love between husband and wife; and the child who arrives among people who love one another has an agreeable

¹ Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, 69.

² Cf. Abū Dāwūd, *Jihād*, 23; *JRAS.* (1901), 247, where Al-Ghazālī comments on this tradition.

³ Qur. xiii, 8.

⁴ In Qur. xxxiii, 40, Muḥammad is called the "seal of the prophets", indicating that there will be no prophet after him. Al-Bukhārī, *Manāqib*, 18, represents Muḥammad as saying that his relationship to other prophets may be illustrated by a house in which one brick has been omitted. People who admire the house ask why the brick is missing. Muḥammad is like the brick which completes the building.

character, while the child who comes among people who are at variance has a bad character.

Allāh (Exalted is He!) said, "They who hear the word and follow the best of it, those are they whom Allāh guides, and those are the possessors of intelligence."¹ Now "the word" is too general to be Qur'ān, or tradition, or the story of the condition of the upright, or listening to poems.² Then Allāh praised him who listens to the word and follows the best of it, as having guidance and intelligence. It necessarily follows from this that if any do not listen to "the word" of singing which is understood in the general meaning of his saying, "who hear the word" which includes wisdom with a beautiful voice, Allāh does not guide them or give them intelligence. And he who is astray from guidance is erring, since error is the opposite of guidance; and he who is erring belongs to the people of hell, since He made error a characteristic of the Christians as He (Exalted is he!) said about them, "They have erred before and led many astray."³ So it necessarily follows from this that he who does not hear "the word" of singing which is understood in the general meaning of His saying "who hear the word", which retains its widest sense and has nothing to particularize it respecting singing with the voice, is erring. And what are we to say when the three are combined in the presence of Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) when a woman said, "O apostle of Allāh, I have made a vow to play the tambourine in your presence"? Then he (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "If you have made a vow, play [it]." Then she played and sang, "The full moon has risen upon us from the passes of al-Wadā'; We must give thanks as long as one prays to Allāh."⁴

Now, by the ordinance of this tradition, he (Allāh bless

¹ Qur. xxxix, 19.

² i.e. "the word" cannot be restricted to any one class of subject.

³ Qur. v, 81.

⁴ Al-Ghazālī, *JRAS.* (1901), 224, 246, speaks of this verse being sung by women on another occasion.

him, etc.) has listened to "the word" of the woman with the voice, and to singing and the playing of the tambourine. So if anyone says that being present at audition, playing the tambourine, and dancing is unlawful, it is as though he said that the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) did what is unlawful and listened to what is unlawful. And if that flutters in anyone's thought, he is an infidel by general consent. And there is no dispute that a vow about something unlawful is not binding.¹

Among the things which strengthen the permissibility of dancing is what is mentioned in the *musnad* of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal² on the authority of 'Alī³ (Allāh honour his face!) that he said, I and Ja'far⁴ and Zaid⁵ came to the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) and he said to Zaid, "You are my client"; then he hopped. And he said to Ja'far, "You resemble my nature and character". He said, Then he hopped. Thereafter he said to me, "You pertain to me"; then I hopped. Hopping is a particular form of dancing, and the general is a part of the particular, i.e. it enters into it. So if a kind of dancing is allowable, it is all allowable.⁶

Then if he who disapproves says, "We admit the permissibility of hopping, but why do you say that doing much of

¹ Cf. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-aimān wa'l-nudhūr*, 28, 31, "If one makes a vow to obey Allāh, let him obey Him; but if one makes a vow to disobey Allāh, let him not disobey Him." Ibn al-'Arabī, *Futūḥāt*, ii, 368, says that the woman mentioned in the text was allowed to play the tambourine simply because she had made a vow. He adds that, though playing the tambourine is lawful, the best people avoid such practices. His school does not condemn singing because no prohibition has been laid down, but does not look on it with favour.

² i, 108. Cf. Al-Ghazālī's remarks on this tradition, *JRAS.* (1902), 8 f.

³ 'Alī ibn abī Ṭālib, cousin of Muḥammad and fourth Caliph. d. 40/661. Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, i, 283 ff.

⁴ Brother of 'Alī and one of Muḥammad's earliest converts. d. 8/629. Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, i, 993.

⁵ Zaid ibn Hāritha, Muḥammad's adopted son. He has the distinction of being mentioned by name in the Qur'ān (xxxiii, 37). d. 8/629. Both Ja'far and he were killed at the battle of Mu'ta. Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, iv, 1194.

⁶ This seems rather a doubtful argument, but it is qualified by what follows.

it is permissible ? ” we say, What proves the permissibility of doing much of it is that, when part of a thing is permissible and no prohibition is reported concerning the remainder, the whole remains permissible ; since, had the other part been unlawful, it would have been necessary for him to make it clear, according to His saying (Exalted is He !), “ And we have sent down the reminder to you, that you may make clear to men. . . . ” ¹ So had doing much of it been unlawful, it would have been necessary for him to make it clear ; but since he did not prohibit them from that, it proves its permissibility.

Now these matters which we have mentioned are connected with the Book and the usage (*sunna*). And as to what is connected with that which is handed down, there is what Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī,² the author of *Qūt al-qulūb*, who is an authority among the people of Islām, related, that some of the Companions, like Ḥāritha³ and ‘Abdallāh ibn Ja‘far⁴ and others of the people of Makka were persevering in audition up to “ our time ”, referring to the time of Abū Ṭālib himself.⁵ And Al-Māwardī⁶ has mentioned in *Al-ḥāwī al-kabīr* something to this effect, that one of the Companions heard that ‘Abdallāh ibn Ja‘far was devoted to audition and squandering his time on it ; so Mu‘āwiya⁷ said to ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ,⁸ “ Come and

¹ Qur. xvi, 46.

² d. 386 (996). Cf. Sarkis, *Dictionnaire*, 320 f.

³ He may be Ḥāritha ibn Badr who, though of Tamīm, was enrolled as a member of Quraish. Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, ii, 269.

⁴ Son of Ja‘far, the brother of ‘Alī (see p. 84). d. 80 (699-700). Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, i, 23.

⁵ The quotation from *Qūt al-qulūb* is clearly made from memory. iii, 91, has a passage fairly similar to that given in the text : “ The people of Al-Ḥijāz continue to listen to audition on the most excellent days of the year, i.e. the days on which Allāh ordered His servants to remember Him, the *tashrīq* days, from the time of ‘Atā’ ibn abī Rabāḥ to the present day.” Further on ‘Abdallāh ibn Ja‘far is mentioned, but not Ḥāritha.

⁶ d. 450 (1058). Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, iii, 416. *Al-ḥāwī al-kabīr fī’l-furū‘* is a large work still unedited.

⁷ The first Umayyad Caliph. d. 60 (680). Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, iii, 617 ff.

⁸ The conqueror of Egypt. d. ca. 42 (663). Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, i, 334 f.

let us go to him, for his passion has got the better of his self-respect." Then they came to him and knocked at his door, and he ordered his [singing-]girls to be quiet, and gave them permission to enter. Then when he (i.e. Mu'āwiya) had sat down, he said, "O Abdallāh, order them to return to what they were engaged in." So they began to sing, and Mu'āwiya was moving his head and shaking his feet above the couch. Then 'Amr ibn al-Āṣ said, "Inasmuch as you chide it, make good your escape from it." He said, "Silence, 'Amr, verily the noble one is emotional."¹ Now he was one of the great ones of the Companions and the writer of the inspiration of Allāh's apostle² (Allāh bless him, etc.); and following the Companions necessarily produces guidance, since the Prophet (Allāh, bless him, etc.), said, "My Companions are like the stars; whichever of them you copy, you will be guided." So he who refuses to copy them rejects guidance for himself.

Now if he who rejects what is implied in the soundness of this saying which is handed down concerning the Companions says "I swear allegiance to³ some of the Companions in all aspects except in audition," we say, This produces no benefit, because then his state with reference to the Companions will be like Abū Lahab's state with reference to the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.), for he may say, "I am a believer in what you say, Muḥammad, yet in all that you say I do not believe; but I declare you to be true in this." It will be said to him, "This does not profit you, because belief which is recognized is belief in all that the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) brought, not in part of it."⁴ Similar is the position of him who follows the Companions in some of

¹ For stories of Mu'āwiya and 'Abdallāh ibn Ja'far cf. *Al-'iqd al-farīd*, iv, 98 f. The last story there has a passage like the end of the story given above.

² Mu'āwiya was employed by the Prophet as a secretary.

³ ? Follow.

⁴ *Qūt al-qulūb*, ii, 38, remarks that Muḥammad is the only one whose every word is to be accepted.

the states, with the exception of audition ; for it will not profit him.

But if he who disapproves says, "Abū Ḥanīfa,¹ or the *shaikh* Abū'l-Bayān² prohibited audition, and I follow him in that," we say, He must first of all interpret Abū Ḥanīfa's saying to the effect that that about which the aforementioned *shaikh* established its blessed wording was against listening to forbidden instruments and listening to singing which leads astray and causes diversion, not to singing absolutely ; otherwise certain things which ought to be guarded against apply to him.

I. One of them is either unbelief or profligacy, because the traditions, with reference to their coming down to us, are of three kinds, of which one is a tradition which is authenticated by a continuous chain of evidence both in root and in branch,³ like the tradition of the Qur'ān, and prayer, and almsgiving, for he who denies it is an infidel. The second are traditions which come originally from individuals and are well-known in branch,⁴ like the traditions of Al-Bukhārī and Muslim,⁵ and he who rejects such is a profligate. The third is a tradition which has one line of authorities both in root and branch,⁶ like the tradition, "I pertain to Allāh

¹ One of the four jurisconsults after whom a Sunnī school of canon law is named. d. 150 (767). Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, i, 90 f.

² I have found no reference to anyone of this name. One of the expounders of Abū Ḥanīfa's teaching is intended.

³ There is no break in the chain of authorities at any point, and such information is not dependent on one line of transmission.

⁴ Those who hand down traditions from the Companions must be well-known authorities who are recognized as such. There should also be more than one line of transmission.

⁵ The collections of Al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) and Muslim (d. 261/875), called *Al-Ṣaḥīḥān*, are generally recognized as the two most authoritative collections of tradition. Cf. *Journal Asiatique*, série ix, vol. 16 (1900), pp. 483 ff. ; Al-Nisābūrī, *Madkhal*, p. 7, where it is said that each Companion in these traditions has two authorities who hand down his traditions, and they also have two.

⁶ When there is only one line of transmission, traditions are not so authoritative. Al-Nisābūrī (*ibid.*, 9 f.) gives this type as the second grade

and the believers pertain to me," etc. There is nothing against him who denies it. Now the traditions we have mentioned about the lawfulness of audition and the permissibility of listening to the sound of the tambourine, singing, and poems, come originally from individuals and are well known in branch; so if anyone denies these traditions, he is a profligate. And if he lays more weight on what is handed down concerning it on the authority of Abū Ḥanīfa, or someone else than on the word and action of the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) in that he believes that the citation concerning the absolute prohibition of audition is sound and true, while the action and word of the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) are unsound and untrue, he is an infidel by general consent.

II. The second of them is that deviation in the interpretation applies to him. That means that he interprets many of the sound traditions like the saying of the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) to the Arab when he prayed without completing his bowing and his prostration, "Pray, for you have not prayed."¹ The lawgiver was guarding prayer in its entirety, but he applies it to defective prayer, while it would have been defective only if he had said "Pray" and nothing more.² Similar is his saying, "When water reaches [the amount of] two vessels, it does not bear foulness."³ It is interpreted as meaning that it cannot bear foulness, which is a departure from what is to be understood. One which is like it is, "When in authority. He does not follow Majd al-Dīn in his rather unusual statement that the Qur'ān is the first grade. Normally it is treated as different altogether from tradition; but Majd al-Dīn is looking at it from the point of view of its transmission.

¹ Al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, 122.

² The argument seems to be that the man had actually gone through the whole ritual, omitting nothing; but he had not performed the *rukū'*, and the *sujūd* in quite the proper manner. The tradition quoted in n. 1 explains how they should be done. If the Prophet had said simply "Pray", it would have indicated that the man had omitted something, and so his prayer would not be accepted. But he added "for you have not prayed" to show the man that although he had gone through the whole ritual, there was something wrong.

³ Cf. Al-Ṭayālīsī, 1954; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, ii, 12, 38.

water reaches [the amount of] a mighty sea, it does not bear foulness." Similarly he said here, "that is like it." But if he interprets the latter in the same way as the former, he disagrees completely with the general consensus. A similar saying of the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) is, "Every marriage which does not take place with a guardian and two just witnesses is debauchery, debauchery, debauchery."¹ It is interpreted as applying to a young girl and a slave woman.² Also his saying (Allāh bless him, etc.), "The widow has more right over herself,"³ is interpreted as applying to a free, adult woman. And other traditions [might be quoted]. Now if it is permissible to interpret traditions related to the Prophet in a manner with which no other *mujtahid*⁴ would agree, then what Abū Ḥanīfa said, or the citation concerning it, if it is established as prohibiting singing and audition, must, *a fortiori*, be interpreted as applying to listening to depravity and licentiousness.

III. The third is that the removal of Abū Ḥanīfa (Allāh be pleased with him!) from the category of the saints and the placing of him in the category of those who reject the people of truth applies to him. That is because Allāh's perfect saints,⁵ the possessors of the stations,⁶ listened to audition and were stirred by it, as is mentioned in their biographies.

¹ Traditions similar to this are to be found in Al-Ṭayālīsī, 1463, and Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, vi, 47, 86. *Bāṭil* (invalid) is used instead of *safāḥ* (debauchery), and there is no reference to the two witnesses.

² Al-Tirmidhī, i, p. 206, disagrees with this, saying that a *walī* is necessary for every marriage.

³ Cf. Abū Dāwūd, *Nikāḥ*, 25; Al-Tirmidhī, i, 206; Mālik, *Muwatta'*, p. 197. Al-Tirmidhī adds the explanation that, although a woman who has been married previously has the right to decide with regard to another marriage, she cannot be legally married without a *walī*.

⁴ One who has a right to form a legal judgment which others should follow. Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, ii, 448 f.

⁵ Lit. "friends". Cf. Al-Niffarī, *Mawāqif*, 61, where it is said that the saint gets this name because his heart is a friend of Allāh and nothing else. "It is my temple in which I speak."

⁶ Stages on the mystic way through which the mystic must pass. Cf. Al-Qushairī, *Risāla*, 37 f; *Kashf al-maḥjūb*, 180 ff., 370 f.

So should they say that Abū Ḥanīfa rejected all audition, that would be a rejection of the saints. But Abū Ḥanīfa was one of the saints, and a saint does not reject another saint like himself, for he would then be rejecting himself. Now he who rejects himself is seeking perfection, not perfect, while the *mujtahid* is perfect. So should Abū Ḥanīfa's saying be established as prohibiting audition, that would be interpreted as listening to instruments of diversion,¹ depravity, licentiousness, and falsehood, and no one disputes about that.

IV. The fourth of them is that abandoning what reliability stipulates regarding its soundness and choosing what that does not stipulate about it applies to him. That is because the taking of jurisprudence from books of jurisprudence does not stipulate reliability in the copyist, or in him who hands it down. Now the copyist may possibly add or omit something in the first or second copy, in which case reliance cannot be resolutely placed on that, contrary to the traditions connected with the Prophet, for reliability is stipulated concerning the soundness of their transmission.² And he who abandons a saying which stipulates reliability concerning its soundness and chooses a saying which does not stipulate reliability concerning its soundness, is a fool, for the fool is he who does not choose the best for his religious and secular affairs, and no attention is paid to what a fool says.

Then if he who disapproves says, "These traditions which come down concerning it come from individuals and do not give a convincing argument, so we do not act according to them," we say, You must not act according to any tradition which comes from individuals which they adduce as proof to verify the laws of jurisprudence; for if they do not act according to those traditions which we have mentioned, they

¹ *Malāhī*. These refer here to such musical instruments as are condemned by religious people.

² Numerous regulations have been drawn up to ensure reliable transmission of traditions. Cf. *Journal Asiatique*, série ix, vol. 17 (1901), pp. 195 ff., 524 ff.; vol. 18 (1901), pp. 61 ff.

must not act according to traditions which come from individuals concerning jurisprudence; in which case all the laws of jurisprudence would be made invalid to them.¹

And they adduce as argument His saying (Exalted is He!) "Their prayer at the House was only *mukā'* and *taṣḍiya*,"² and *mukā'* is whistling, and *taṣḍiya* is striking one palm on another from which a sound issues. We say, This argument is not congruous, because He forbade them from whistling and hand-clapping at the House, and it does not necessarily follow from the prevention of something in a sacred state that it is to be prevented in positions which are different from that. On this account, a woman may strike the palm of one hand on the back of the other during the prayer when some trouble comes upon her, but it is not permissible in any other circumstances.³ And since the House is honourable and the circling round it is prayer, He prevented them from that. And further, He said, "Their prayer was only . . .", but did not say, "Their audition was only. . . ." So it is not allowable to deduce from the prevention of hand-clapping round the House its prevention in all places.

And they adduce as argument also His saying (Exalted is He!), "Among men are those who buy sportive talk to lead astray from Allāh's way without knowledge,"⁴ and "sportive talk" is singing. We say, It is to be understood from His saying "sportive talk" that it is permissible to listen to true talk, whether it be Qur'ān, poetry, or something

¹ There are not traditions of the fullest degree of authority on all subjects; so the argument is that, if only traditions of the highest grade are to be applied to the subject of audition, the same principle should hold good for all matters dealt with by the law of Islām. But the author exaggerates, for all the laws would not be invalidated if only thoroughly reliable traditions were accepted; but some would.

² Qur. viii, 35. "The House" is the Ka'ba.

³ Abū Dāwud, *Ṣalāt*, 166 (cf. Al-Nasā'i, viii, 243 f.) says that when anything happens to a man during prayer, he should say, "Praise be to Allāh." A woman should clap her hands. This is explained as striking the palm of the left hand with two fingers of the right.

⁴ Qur. xxxi, 5.

else ; and we have mentioned sound traditions about the permissibility of listening to the sound of the tambourine, singing, and poetry. A tradition has come down which says, " In poetry there is wisdom " ¹ ; and this text indicates that " sportive talk " applies particularly to audition which leads astray and diverts from truth and worship, and what removes the worshipper far from Allāh (Exalted is He !) ; now what is not like that remains permissible.² And further, if a text comes down which gives a general sense, one must first seek something which particularizes it, and if he finds it, he must act upon it ; otherwise he must interpret it in a general sense. Take for example the tradition, " Scatter dust in the faces of the panegyrists. " ³ Then it has come down that the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) was praised and eulogized. An example is the saying of Ka'b ibn Zuhair ⁴ (Allāh be pleased with him !),

" Su'ād has gone and my heart to-day is infatuated,
Enslaved by her trace, unransomed, enchained " ;

until he reached in recitation his saying,

" [I am informed] that Allāh's apostle has threatened me,
but forgiveness is hoped for with Allāh's apostle."

Then Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) cast his striped mantle to him. So it is necessary to apply his saying, " Scatter dust in the faces of the panegyrists," to praise of falsehood and depravity, and to the depraved person. Similarly here it is necessary to apply " sportive talk " to falsehood, depravity, and instruments of diversion ; and what does not come into that category is assuredly permissible.

¹ Cf. p. 75, n. 2.

² For Ibn abī'l-Dunyā's treatment of this passage cf. p. 24.

³ Abū Dāwud, *Adab*, 9 ; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, vi, 5.

⁴ Son of Zuhair, author of one of the *Mu'allaqāt*. He came to make submission to Muḥammad in the year 9 (630/1), and recited in his honour his famous poem, *Bānat Su'ād*, from which the verses quoted above are taken. Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, ii, 584. This poem is included in Noldeke, *Delectus*, 110 ff.

Then if he who disapproves says, "The audition of the *faqīrs*¹ is allowable according to the conditions you have mentioned, but the audition of the common people is unlawful," we say, No one has a right to declare anything lawful or unlawful in the law as long as the lawgiver has laid down no statute about it, according to what has come down in the tradition, "The lawful is clear and the unlawful is clear, and between them there are doubtful matters."² And Allāh (Exalted is He!) said, "And do not say of the falsehood which your tongues describe, 'This is lawful and this is unlawful,' to invent falsehood against Allāh."³ So if anyone says that audition is absolutely unlawful, he has declared forbidden in the law something about which no statute has come down, since no statute forbidding audition and dancing has come down in the Book of Allāh (Exalted is He!), or in the usage of Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.), or in the words of the Companions (Allāh be pleased with them!). And he who declares to be forbidden in the law anything which is not in it, has invented something against Allāh, and he who invents anything against Allāh is an infidel by general agreement. Further, regarding the audition and dancing of the common people, their recreations in gardens compare with the audition and dancing of the Abyssinians in the presence of Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.),⁴ and there is no dispute about the permissibility of that; and their movements in audition are similar. And further, [it is said] in the tradition, "He who resembles a people is one of them."⁵ And the companions of the pure truth preceded people in it.⁶ And the saints of Allāh (Exalted is He!), like Al-Junaid⁷ and others, were moved in audition,

¹ Lit. "poor men". This name is applied to the mystics. Cf. *Kashf al-mahjūb*, 58 f.

² Al-Bukhārī, *Īmān*, 39; *Buyū'*, 2; Abū Dāwud, *Buyū'*, 3; Al-Tirmidhī, i, 227.

³ Qur. xvi, 117.

⁴ Cf. p. 80.

⁵ Cf. p. 74.

⁶ i.e. people of recognized piety have engaged in audition in earlier times.

⁷ A celebrated mystic. d. 297 (910). Cf. *Enc. of Islām*,¹ i, 1063.

as is related about them in Al-Qushairi's *Risāla*¹ and in other books. So if one of the common people is moved in audition, in resemblance to them, seeking some of their inheritance, he is like them. And it has come down in the tradition, "The associate of these people is not made miserable by them."²

Then if he who disapproves says, "When anyone goes into an ecstasy in audition for love of a human being or his form, it is unlawful," we say, There has come down in the tradition, "By Him in whose hand is my soul, you will not enter Paradise till you believe, and you will not believe till you love one another. Shall I not guide you to a thing by doing which you will love one another? Increase the salutation among yourselves."³ And there is a reading "you are guided" (instead of "you love one another"). And there is also in the tradition, "On the Day of Resurrection Allāh (Exalted is He!) will call, 'Where are those who love one another for my glory?' Then they will have pulpits of light, and the prophets and martyrs will envy them."⁴ So when two people love one another for the sake of Allāh (Exalted is He!) and one of them is moved on account of love for the other for the sake of Allāh (Exalted is He!), it is allowable, since he does not acknowledge anything vain.⁵

Then if he who disapproves says, "The common person is moved only by sport and vanity, and this kind of sport is unlawful," we say, It has come down in the tradition, "When any words come forth from your brother, do not give them an evil interpretation when you can find a good

¹ An important treatise on mysticism. There is a chapter on audition (pp. 178-186). Al-Qushairi d. 465 (1072). Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, ii, 1160.

² Cf. Al-Bukhārī, *Da'wāt*, 67. Al-Sarrāj allows the common people to practise audition provided no instruments which have evil associations are used. Cf. *Al-Luma'*, 277.

³ Muslim, i, 143; Al-Tirmidhī, *Isti'dhān*, 1; Abū Dāwud, *Adab*, 131; Ibn Māja, *Adab*, 11.

⁴ Al-Tirmidhī, ii, 63. Cf. also Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, v, 328.

⁵ There is a tradition given by Abū Dāwud (*Adab*, 113), which says: "If a man loves his brother, let him tell him he loves him."

interpretation for them." So when we see a unitarian believer, be he one of the common people or someone else, moved in audition without acknowledging anything vain, it is necessary to treat his action as genuine. But if what is suspected is as was suspected, that is the state of affairs¹; otherwise, the matter of his faith pertains to Allāh (Exalted is He!), not to the one who looks at him. And further, as the schools are free, and every *mujtahid* chooses what prevails over his opinion after his consideration of the texts, and every *mujtahid* has a following, it is not fitting for anyone to favour one man absolutely. So according to this, audition is altogether permissible among the adherents of the *Shāfi'ī* school,² so there is no blame on any of their followers who practise it; just as there is no retribution taken from him who commits fornication with a woman servant, according to Abū Ḥanīfa, so there is no blame on any of his followers who do that.³ But should a *Shāfi'ī* judge know of it, he would punish him, and not pay any attention to his (Abū Ḥanīfa's) decision (*ijtihād*) on account of how the Book deals with that, where Allāh (Exalted is He!) says, "The fornicatress and the fornicator, give each of them a hundred lashes"⁴; and only one like him opposes the text.⁵ And the Ḥanafī has no text for his prohibition [of audition] from the Book, or the usage, or the general agreement of the people; so their rejection of that is a rejection of the lawgiver, as we have declared, and the same applies to all the schools.

¹ If he is clearly in the wrong, one may take him to task.

² Al-Qushairi, *Risāla*, 179, says that although Al-*Shāfi'ī* does not prohibit audition, he considers it objectionable. *Minhāj*, 515, says the only song to which one may listen is that of the camel drivers. All other unaccompanied singing is disapproved. Even a tambourine is allowable only at a marriage, a circumcision, or a festival. Cf. Farmer, *History*, p. 29.

³ The reference is to a servant employed in one's household. Cf. *Hidāya*, ii, 20 f. For *Shāfi'ī* rulings on the subject cf. *Minhāj*, 439.

⁴ Qur. xxiv, 2.

⁵ The Ḥanafī school is here declared to go against the clear teaching of the Qur'ān.

Then if he who disapproves says, "We grant the permissibility of playing the tambourine which has no metal plates (*ṣunūj*), for the tambourine of the Arabs was like that, but we do not admit the permissibility of playing the tambourine with the metal plates," we say, The permissibility of playing the tambourine which has no metal plates has been established by the traditions we have mentioned, and nothing has come down regarding the metal plates, either by way of prohibition or of disapproval, so it remains permissible. For if a permissible thing which has not been heard of is joined to a permissible thing which is heard of, the whole is permissible provided no context points to the combination of them being unlawful¹; like the marriage of two sisters, for marrying each one of them separately is permissible, but having them both as wives at the same time is unlawful.²

As for the Persian flute (*qasab*), nothing has come down about it, so it remains permissible. But as for the reed-pipe (*mizmār*), it is forbidden to listen to it, on account of what has come down in the tradition that he (Allāh bless him, etc.) heard the sound of the *mizmār* and stopped his ears.³

And further, hostility to Allāh (Exalted is He!) applies to him who disapproves of dancing, audition, playing the tambourine, and listening to singing, and he who fights against Allāh (Exalted is He!) is an infidel by general consent. That is because there has come down in the sound tradition, "He who is hostile to a saint of mine has come forth against me in warfare."⁴ There is no disagreement among the *mujtahids* about the existence of saints among them, and the people of all times are agreed about the soundness of the sainthood

¹ For a similar argument in another connection cf. *JRAS.*, 1901, p. 215.

² Cf. *Minhāj*, 292; *Hidāya*, i, 78 ff. In the latter it is held that one cannot marry a wife's sister at any time. Mālik, *Muwatta'*, 203, allows marriage with a wife's sister after the wife's death or divorce.

³ Abū Dāwud, *Adab*, 52. Cf. p. 30, n. 1.

⁴ Cf. Ibn Māja, *Fitan*, 16.

of Al-Junaid,¹ Al-Shibli,² Ma'rūf al-Karkhī,³ 'Abdallāh ibn Khafif,⁴ and others of those who are mentioned in *Tadhkira al-auliya'*,⁵ etc. And it is verified concerning them in their biographies that they went into ecstasies in audition and danced to destroy from their hearts what was apart from Allāh.⁶ So he who declares audition to be absolutely unlawful is as though he said these saints did what is unlawful; and he who attributes to them dealings with what is unlawful is hostile to them in word, deed, and belief; and he who is hostile to them has come forth against the Truth (Exalted is He!); and he who comes forth against the Truth (Exalted is He!) is an infidel by general consent, and "has brought down on himself anger from Allāh, and his resort is Jahannam, and evil is the journey".⁷

It is then established from the declarations, proofs, and traditions we have mentioned that audition is absolutely permissible, and that he who disapproves of it is either an infidel, or a profligate. And this is rather a matter of approval regarding the novices,⁸ necessary regarding the saints of

¹ See p. 93, n. 7.

² d. 334 (945). Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, iv, 360 f.

³ d. 200 (815-6). Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, iii, 307.

⁴ d. 372 (982). Cf. *Kashf al-mahjūb*, 158, 247 ff.

⁵ The only book of this name with which I am familiar is a Persian work by 'Attār (d. 627/1230). As Majd al-Dīn died in 520 (1126), one can only conclude that, if this is the book referred to, the passage is not a part of Majd al-Dīn's original work. The saints mentioned are all dealt with in 'Attār's work. If this passage is part of Majd al-Dīn's work, one must assume that he is either referring to some unknown book, or using the phrase in a general sense with reference to biographies of saints. But it is possible that the whole paragraph has been added by a later hand, as it is in the style of pp. 87-90, and so does not seem in place here. Against this it may be said that the last sentence makes a very effective finish to this section of the tractate.

⁶ Cf. Nicholson, *Studies*, 58, where Abū Sa'īd ibn abī'l-Khair is quoted as saying that dancing dissipates lust in young men. See also p. 237.

⁷ Qur. viii, 16.

⁸ Frequently those who approve of audition feel that novices should not indulge in it too frequently. Cf. *Al-Luma'*, 287 f. and *Al-Qushairi, Risāla*, 218, where instruction is given regarding the practice of audition by novices. *JRAS.* (1901), 709, expresses the view that there is danger in audition to the novice. See also Introduction, p. 6.

Allāh (Exalted is He !) with reference to their stations, because they are detached from what is other than Allāh towards Allāh (Exalted is He !). Allāh (Exalted is He !) said, " They seek His face." ¹ As often as they come upon anything of the forms, they apply it to the hidden meanings,² as he (Allāh bless him, etc.) said concerning Usaid ibn Al-Ḥudair ³ when he said, " O apostle of Allāh, I was reciting Sūra *Al-Kahf*⁴ last night, and lo, over my head was a cloud in which was the likeness of lamps " ; he said, " That was the *sakīna*," ⁵ and he did not treat the cloud as a mere cloud. *Sakīna* is [of the form] *fa'ila* from [the root] *sukūn*, and it is repose in the lights of the unseen world which come down upon one because of one's going backwards and forwards and passing their forms, which are the words of the Qur'ān.⁶ And similarly the saints of Allāh (Exalted is He !) apply the forms to the realities (*ma'ānī*) on account of their abandoning the ranks of the forms and their moving in the ranks of the branches of gnosis. So among them the tambourine is a reference to the cycle of existing things (*dā'ira al-akwān*) ; the skin which is fitted on to it is a reference to general existence (*al-wujūd al-muṭlaq*), the striking which takes place on the tambourine is a reference to the descent of the divine visitations (*wāridāt*) from the innermost arcana (*bāṭin al-buṭūn*) upon general existence to bring forth the things pertaining to the essence from the interior to the exterior, the five small bells (*jalājil*) are a reference to the prophetical

¹ Qur. vi, 52 ; xviii, 27.

² i.e. they seek the inner meaning of external things.

³ Son of a chief of the Aus in Al-Madīna. He was present at the second pledge of the 'Aqaba. He supported Muḥammad in several battles, but was absent from Badr. He was reckoned among the chief Companions. d. 20/641. Cf. Ibn Sa'd, iii, 2, pp. 135 ff.

⁴ Sūra, xviii.

⁵ A form borrowed from the Hebrew *shekina*. In Arabic it is commonly explained as meaning peace of soul. This story seems to be made up of a combination of two traditions. Cf. Muslim, ii, 247 f.

⁶ The words of the Qur'ān were external things which had an inner meaning for Usaid.

ranks, the saintly ranks, the apostolic ranks, the *khalifate* ranks, and the imāmate ranks, and their combined sound is a reference to the appearance of the divine revelations and unrestricted knowledge by means of these realities in the hearts of the saints and the people of perfection. And the soul of the reality is the form of the rank of the Truth (Exalted and holy is He !), since it is He who sets the things in motion, brings them into existence, and enriches them. And the voice of the singer is a reference to the divine (*rabbānīya*) life which comes down from the innermost arcana to the levels (*marātib*) of the spirits, the hearts, and the consciences (*asrār*). The flute (*qaṣab*) is a reference to the human essence, and the nine holes are a reference to the openings in the outer frame (*zāhir*), which are nine, viz. the ears, the nostrils, the eyes, the mouth, and the private parts (*al-qubl wa'l-dubr*). Nine other holes are inverted from the exterior to the interior, viz. the armpits, the inner part of the elbows, under the knees, the inner part of the wrists and the navel. And there are nine ranks inside [the body] viz. the heart, the mind, the spirit, the soul, the conscience, the human essence, the memory, the interior of the heart (*fu'ād*), and the pericardium (*shaḡhāf*). And the breath which penetrates the flute is a reference to the light of Allāh (Exalted is He !) penetrating the reed of man's essence. And their being moved in audition is a reference to the bird of human reality in the station of the eternal¹ address, "Am I not your Lord ?" ² and to the excitement of the spirit on account of the cage of the body being broken and its return to the true home, since he said, "Love of home pertains to faith," i.e. the home of the spirits in which the spirit was brought into existence, since He said, "And I breathed into him of my spirit," ³ And the dancing is a reference to the circling of the spirit round the cycle of existing

¹ *Azālī*, which is a very difficult word to translate. It is an adjective formed from *azal*, which means eternity from the point of view of its having no beginning. *Abad* means eternity from the point of view of its having no end.

² Qur. vii, 171. See p. 69, n. 1. ³ Qur. xv, 29 ; xxxviii, 72.

things on account of receiving the effects of the unveilings and revelations; and this is the state of the gnostic. The whirling is a reference to the spirit's standing with Allāh in its inner nature (*sirr*) and being (*wujūd*), the circling of its look and thought, and its penetrating the ranks of existing things; and this is the state of the assured one. And his leaping up is a reference to his being drawn from the human station to the unitive station and to existing things acquiring from him spiritual effects and illuminative helps.¹ Then when his spirit goes forth from the veil and reaches the ranks of what is right, his head is uncovered. Then when he is detached from what is other than Allāh and reaches Allāh (Exalted is He!), he takes off his clothing; and if the singer is the possessor of a state (*ḥāl*)² and a station (*maqām*), he throws his clothing to him; but if he is not such, throwing it to him is a wrong, because the garment of the possessor of a state is the form of his state, and only he who is of his rank deserves to receive his state.³ Then if he rises to a higher station and the singer is speaking in a lower station, he suggests to him a verse suitable for his state.⁴ But if something about which he sang becomes dubious to him and his state comes to a stop, he takes someone else and circles with him that their states may be united and his bond may be loosed.⁵ Then when he becomes thirsty and asks for a drink

¹ Cf. *Kashf al-mahjūb*, 416, "In short, all foot-play is bad in law and reason, by whomsoever it is practised, and the best of mankind cannot possibly practise it; but when the heart throbs with exhilaration and rapture becomes intense and the agitation of ecstasy is manifested and conventional forms are gone, that agitation is neither dancing nor foot-play nor bodily indulgence, but a dissolution of the soul."

² The distinction between a "state" and a "station" is that the "state" is a divine gift, whereas the "station" is attained by human effort. Cf. Al-Qushairī, *Risāla*, 38; *Kashf al-mahjūb*, 181 f.

³ For the practice of throwing off garments (and also of tearing them), cf. *Kashf al-mahjūb*, 417 f.; *JRAS.* (1902), 9 ff.

⁴ Cf. *JRAS.* (1901), 744.

⁵ Cf. *JRAS.* (1902), 11 f., where it says that those who perform the dance together should experience the same "state". On the problem of people in one state not understanding people in another cf. Al-Kalābādhī, *Ta'arruf* (Arberry), 77.

of water, it indicates that he is overpowered, because the station of the spirit is the station of serenity and dryness from the lights ; so when he becomes thirsty it indicates that he has returned to the station of the body, since the station of the spirit is [that of] getting nourishment from the unseen, so that it does not require the seen ; while the station of the body is [that of] getting nourishment from the form. So when he returns from the unseen to the seen, he asks for water, and that indicates defect.

As for the signification understood by the intellect which indicates the nobility of audition, its nature is contrast from various points of view.

I. One is that the states which are connected with a thing are of two kinds, movement and quiescence. Movement is a characteristic of spirits and inner natures, and quiescence is a characteristic of bodies and crass forms. And heat and rendering delicate are among the requisites of movement, while solidification and deterioration are among the requisites of quiescence. On this account, should water remain in its jar, even though it were a large quantity, it would deteriorate with the passage of time ; while if it is flowing a little, it does not deteriorate. So when a measured sound affects the inner being, it moves the spirit to seek ascent, and the body is moved by the movement of the spirit. Then heat arises within it and the superfluities of its nature are loosed, and marks which are seen appear in its heart ; and that is by the agency of audition.

II. The second is that sensual nourishment strengthens the body, which results from coming in contact with food, while spiritual nourishment strengthens the heart and the inner nature. That arises from coming in contact with the instruments of bringing down spirit, light, and life from the unseen world. And it is the stirring of the spirit by listening to wonderful realities in delicate poems and the abandonment of the attachments of created things, and being drawn to the spiritual stages (*manāzil*). Now the instrument of obtaining

these lights is the association of the brethren and the seeking of help from Allāh, the Merciful.

III. The third is that audition detaches one from external things and inclines one to accept the hidden lights and secrets. Then as often as one's ecstasy (*wajd*) increases in audition, one's travelling and flying in the world of spirits increases. And when one's increase is abundant, the heart is made fine, and one receives some of the marks of the outpouring and revelations of Allāh (Exalted is He!); then one attains the station of union (*wuṣūl*) without a new religious exercise (*riyāḍa*).

IV. The fourth is that the sound *Huwā*¹ is penetration from the exterior to the interior and is joined to the heart; then the heart and the spirit are joyful by means of the variation of measured notes and by the number of the realities which come down upon the spirit in the ranks of existing things. So when the spirit follows the body in movement and the body follows the spirit in presence, light, and joy it is detached from suppositions and imaginations, and the realities which are combined in the spirit penetrate the bodily powers. Then when the body is drawn to the station of the spirit the veil is removed, and it sees those realities and truths all at once. This is the station of the perfection of actual vision which does not arise by many religious exercises.

V. The fifth is that audition is quiescence in the internal and movement in the external; and other acts of worship, except fasting, are a movement in the external, and the movement in the external corresponds to abundance. So as often as the movement is abundant in audition and quiescence becomes strong in the heart, it is detached from everything but Allāh (Exalted is He!), ecstasy appears in it, and it is drawn to the Unique Presence. Then by the sight of the inner nature it sees the divine worlds and comprehends

¹ The repetition of the word *huwā* (He) with lengthening of the second vowel, is a mystic practice.

the divine (*rabbānīya*) secrets which intellects and understandings cannot grasp. And as for the three pillars,¹ like prayer, pilgrimage, and the two testimonies, even if they are a movement in the external and the internal, yet sometimes a spiritual and facial quiescence which leads its possessor to annihilation (*fanā'*) and immortality (*baqā'*)² appears between two movements. As for fasting, it is a quiescence in the external and the internal, and sometimes a movement from Allāh, in Allāh, to Allāh comes forth between two periods of quiescence, and that is the complete liberation and the universal law.³ So the inner nature (*sirr*) of audition in its various ranks (*marātib*) comprises the verities of the five pillars; for prayer, pilgrimage, and the two testimonies pertain to external ranks, and fasting and almsgiving to internal ranks; and sometimes a man gets from audition perfections such as are not obtained from persistence in many acts of devotion.

VI. The sixth is that audition comprises the perfect states which are the limits of the stations. Its *sīn* and *mīm*⁴ indicate *samm* (poison), meaning that the inner nature of audition is like poison which causes one to die to the attachments of things which are other than Allāh and causes one to reach the unseen stations. Its *'ain* and *mīm* indicate *ma'a* (with), meaning that audition causes one to reach the Essential, divine co-existence (*ma'īya*). He (Peace be upon him!)⁵

¹ In Islām there are five pillars of practical religion: (1) The testimony that Allāh is the only God and Muḥammad is His prophet; (2) prayer; (3) almsgiving; (4) fasting; (5) pilgrimage.

² These are technical mystical terms referring to the death of the self and life in God. Cf. Al-Qushairī, *Risāla*, 43 f.; *Kashf al-mahjūb*, 242 ff.; Nicholson, *Studies*, 55, 214 f., 218, 261; Smith, *Early Mysticism*, 215, 242, 252; Al-Kalābādhi, *Ta'arruf* (Arberry), 120 ff.

³ Al-Sarrāj says that the audition of those who have attained to the verities is in Allāh, to Allāh, from Allāh, and unto Allāh. *Al-Luma'*, 279.

⁴ The author makes up words from the letters of *samā'* (audition), and tries to draw teachings from them regarding audition.

⁵ This is given in the MSS. instead of the usual invocation of blessing on Muḥammad.

said, "I have a time with Allāh in which no angel who is brought near [Allāh's presence] or prophet who is sent on a mission is enough for me."¹ Its *sin*, *mīm*, and *alif* indicate *samā'* (heaven) to make known that audition causes one to become supernal and heavenly, and one comes forth from the lower ranks. And its *alif* and *mīm* indicate *umm* (mother) to tell that he who engages in audition is the mother of everything else, gets support from the unseen by his spiritual nature, and pours forth on everything else life and knowledge which the word *mā'* (water) indicates. Its *'ain* and *mīm* indicate *'amm* (inclusive), i.e. he who engages in audition includes in his spiritual nature supernal things, in the life of his heart human things, and in the light of his pure soul bodily things and other states. So he who engages in audition rises to the high stations and the divine favours which one cannot attain to by a thousand efforts and the most perfect religious exercises. And the benefits of audition reach a hundred benefits and a hundred thousand states which he who has taste,² ecstasy, and insight discovers. Only he disapproves of audition who is blind of heart, lacking in light, thickly veiled, neglectful of Allāh (Exalted is He!), and inclining to the appetite and passion. Allāh (Exalted is He!) said, "And when they hear what has been sent down to the apostle, you see their eyes pouring with tears from what they know of the truth. They say, 'Our Lord, we believe, so write us down among the testifiers. And why should we not believe in Allāh and the truth which has come to us, and desire that our Lord should cause us to enter along with the upright people?'"³

The epilogue concerning the explanation of the nature of audition as it is understood among the saints, the lords of

¹ Al-Sarrāj quotes, on the authority of Al-Ḥuṣrī, a similar saying: "I have a time with Allāh in which nothing other than Allāh (great and glorious is He!) is enough for me along with Him." Doubt is thrown on its genuineness. *Al-Luma'*, 115.

² Cf. p. 71, n. 6.

³ Qur. v, 86 f.

the states, and the stations, to stir their spirits to the world of holiness and remind them of the station of mankind.

So when they purpose that, they gather together in the early morning after finishing the dawn prayer, or after the evening [prayer], after finishing their office (*wird*), be it recitation [of the Qur'ān], *dhikr*, or any act of worship whatsoever. When they sit down, he of their number who has the most sensitive voice recites such a passage as, "And Allāh rescues the God-fearing in their safe place. No evil will touch them, and they will not grieve . . ." down to His saying (Exalted is He!), "And be among the grateful."¹ Or, "Verily the God-fearing will be in gardens and springs receiving what their Lord has brought them. Verily before that they were doing good . . ." down to His saying (Exalted is He!), "You utter."² Or "And the sky, we have built it with bands and verily we are expanding . . ." down to His saying (Exalted is He!), "So flee to Allāh; verily I am a clear warner from Him to you."³ Or, "Did you not see that Allāh sent down water from heaven so that the earth might become green? Verily Allāh is kindly and knowing."⁴ And passages like that. Altogether he recites verses which indicate seeking advancement, increase, care, and guarding. Then the *shaiikh*⁵ speaks about the meaning of these verses in a manner suited to the station of mystical practices (*sulūk*). He says, Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "Verily, the Qur'ān has an exterior and an interior, a limit and a source."⁶ Now the external meaning of these verses is in existing things for the people of consideration, and their internal meaning is in man for the people of revelation and secrets. Now the meaning of this verse, "And Allāh rescues," i.e. He rescues those who fear the ranks of the appetite and passion and

¹ Qur. xxxix, 62-6.

² Qur. li, 15-23.

³ Qur. li, 47-50.

⁴ Qur. xxii, 62.

⁵ Cf. *Kaṣṣf al-maḥjūb*, 419, "It is necessary that a spiritual director should be present during the performance."

⁶ Cf. *Qūt al-qulūb*, i, 77.

come forth from the hindrances which pertain to repulsion and deviation. So Allāh (Exalted is He!) rescues them from attachment to what is other than Allāh. And the being drawn towards Allāh (Exalted is He!) and the reception of the divine instructions (*ta'rīfāt*) take place without an intermediary, since Allāh (Exalted is He!) said, "And fear Allāh, and Allāh teaches you." Their minds are perfect with wisdom (*ḥikma*) and gnosis (*ma'rifa*); their hearts are perfect with the states (*aḥwāl*), the tastes (*adhwāq*) and the ecstasies (*mawājīd*); and their souls are perfect with good deeds and pure characters to interpret every existing thing according to the purpose of Allāh (Exalted is He!). Then He sends them back from the truth to the creatures (*khalq*), seeking to transfer to others by means of them the marks of the divine attributes which pertain to life and knowledge. So when they leave the divine presence in mind and soul and are attached to what is other than Allāh (Exalted is He!), on account of seeing the marks of His actions and the perfecting of the ranks of His noumena (*ma'gūlāt*), no evil touches them by this accidental attachment, i.e. distance and being veiled from the Unique Presence, since they are with Allāh in their inner being and spirit, and with the creatures in their perception and soul; "and they will not grieve" on account of the lack of the departure of the stages, stations, and states which they possess.

And he says about the second example, "Verily the God-fearing," by abandoning what is other than Allāh and being drawn to Him secretly and openly, "will be in gardens" of the branches of gnosis and unseen sciences, "receiving" from Allāh "what He has brought them" of illuminations and instructions. "Verily, they were before that," i.e. in the state of mystical practices journeying and seeking, "doing good" with their souls by keeping to the ordinances and laws, and with their minds by applying themselves to good thoughts and understanding the Unitarian secrets.

And about the third: "And the sky," i.e. the sky of the

spirits, "we have built it," i.e. we have brought it to light from the divine unseen to the decree of existence; "with bands" i.e. with power, knowledge, and will; "and verily, we are expanding" the ranks of the spirits, that various kinds of unitarian secrets and ecstatic ranks may be revealed in them; "and the earth," i.e. the earth of the pure, unsullied hearts; "we have spread it," i.e. we have spread it as the earth of the hearts, that there may appear in it various kinds of wisdom, gnosis, gentleness, and subtleties; "so good are the smoothers," i.e. we have spread it in a determinative and not a statutory manner, and on this account it comprises thousands of kinds of sciences and branches of gnosis; "and of everything we have created a pair," i.e. like spirit and body, form and meaning, beauty and character, etc.; "perhaps you may take note" that the rank (*rutba*) of wisdom includes the causes and the things caused, and the rank of power (*qudra*) the appearance of things without an intermediary; "so flee" from the seen to the unseen, from the names to the Namer, from the attributes to the essence, and from transience to eternity.

And he says about the fourth example, "Did you not see," with the eye of discernment; "that Allāh sent down" from the sky of the spirits the rain of the sciences and the branches of gnosis on the earth of the pure, unsullied hearts to avoid inclining to what is other than Allāh; "so that the earth" of the hearts "might become green" with various kinds of acts of worship and repairings and acceptable characteristics, like generosity, pardon, pity, humility, honour, etc.

Then the *qawwāl* engages in instructive speech and a saying pertaining to the Lord,¹ like,

Thou hast in the hearts stations and a place which neither the intellect nor the understandings can comprehend.

¹ *JRAS.* (1901), 738 ff., has an interesting argument to show why verses of the Qur'ān are not sufficient to induce ecstasy. In certain circumstances poetry may be more suitable, as it is not so familiar.

Then if someone says, " You have given the Truth (Exalted is He !) a station and a place, and that is anthropomorphism," we say, It is thus expressed simply out of adherence to what the wise lawgiver said. When he was asked, " Where is Allāh in the earth ? " he said, " In the hearts of His believing servants." ¹

And like,

Every morning and every dawn my eye weeps with the tears
of one who yearns.

The snake of passion has stung my heart,² and there is no
physician for it and none to apply a charm,
Save the Beloved of whom I am enamoured ; with Him are
my charm and my antidote.

And like his saying,³

Come, Sa'd, let us cross the deserts in fealty to the love He has
cast into me.⁴

I have a passion in desire for Him. That which determines
the states of purity in every living being ⁵ has appeared
to me.

I sought to efface myself to glorify Him ; there is no universal
attribution except to me.⁶

¹ Cf. *Qūt al-qulūb*, i, 175.

² Lit. " liver ".

³ The following verses cannot be a part of the original work, as they would appear to be in fairly close imitation of the first ode in the *diwān* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 632/1235). Majd al-Dīn died in 520/1126. The first, sixth, and last three lines are particularly close to Ibn al-Fāriḍ's words. It is conceivable that Ibn al-Fāriḍ used these verses as a basis for his ode, but this is hardly likely. Another argument against their genuineness is that they are given only in B. C gives no verses at all. P gives all the verses but those of this poem and the following one. These two poems omitted by P, occupy exactly one side of a folio in B. I therefore incline to consider that they have been added by a later hand.

⁴ Cf. v. 1 of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's ode.

⁵ Professor R. A. Nicholson, to whom I am indebted for drawing my attention to the resemblance between this poem and that of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, has suggested that *ḥaiy* (living being) may here have its other meaning of " clan ", and that the phrase may therefore mean " everywhere ".

⁶ His effacing of himself has brought him into union with God.

All the various grades [of existence] depend perpetually on me¹; verily, they are the laws² of a revelation, my brother.

He does not see me who has in himself any perception of a shadow in the suns of ecstasy.

The state of passing away in love of Him has brought me increase [of mystical life]; I care not whether I am spread out or folded up.³

All attributes appeared under His authority; that is the mystery of the unitive state, "of you and related to me."⁴

My dear companions, why do you deny my [mystic] state after acknowledging it to me as a youth?⁵

His wine has put me in [a state of] purity, as the *lām kay* in grammar puts a verb in the subjunctive.⁶

The glad news of union with the life everlasting has come to

¹ The speaker must be a *qutb* (pole), the highest grade among the saints. *Kashf al-mahjūb*, 213 f., says that the saints govern the universe. The highest of those who have power to loose and bind is the *qutb* or *ghauth* (helper). Cf. Nicholson, *Studies*, p. 86, "Jīlī calls the Perfect Man the preserver of the universe, the *Qutb* or Pole on which all the spheres of existence revolve." *ibid.*, 194, 246.

² i.e. the laws governing the coming of revelation.

³ Cf. Ibn al-Fāriq's ode, 1, 5.

⁴ The MS. has *min-kum au 'alaiy* (from you or upon me), which is a very difficult phrase to explain. There is a common phrase *min-ka wa ilaika* which means "of thee and related to thee". It is discussed by Goldziher in *ZDMG.*, 48, pp. 95 ff., and by Kaufmann, *ibid.*, pp. 425 ff. This phrase may be at the basis of the words in the text. In its ordinary form it would not suit the metre, so *min-kum* and *au* may be explained on this ground. I suggest emending '*alaiy* to *ilaiy*. The phrase may then be understood with reference to the unitive state as meaning that the terms "thee" and "me" are one and the same thing.

⁵ Cf. Ibn al-Fāriq's ode, 1, 19.

⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, 1, 21. In B the line ends with *lā miray* (without doubt). I am indebted to Professor Nicholson for suggesting the emendation here, as it is obviously correct, following Ibn al-Fāriq. The *lām kay* is the particle which expresses purpose and governs the subjunctive. There is a pun in the Arabic which cannot be reproduced in English, the verb translated "put" having the same root letters as the word for "subjunctive".

me ; this Gazelle [the Beloved] is the hunter of the lions among mankind [i.e. the mystics].¹

And like,

Knowledge of reality is a revelation which comprises the ranks of existing things and of various kinds.

Then when you pass away from the use of figures,² having understanding, you comprehend the law of the verities of the Merciful.

There is no reasoning in the mystical apprehension which realizes plurality in the gracious summit of the unity of His essence.³

If you seek to open a comprehensive gate, verify the realities of the phenomena of every place.

Then divest yourself of looking at the figures [ideas] whence comes all that constitutes the purest faith.⁴

Then when you raise the standard of high glory, and obliterate the marks of passion and baseness,

At that time you realize what constitutes His inner being, and understand the unity of His gracious face.

And like his saying,

All existence is speaking of the outpouring of Thy generosity, and the beauty of Thy face is shining in the perceptions.

The farthest point reached by [earthly] lovers in their deserts is but the starting-point of the lover [i.e. the mystic] and of him whom realities enclose.

When He appeared from ⁵ the state of being ⁵ an all-comprehending hidden consciousness, He removed the veil, and that is an extraordinary matter.

¹ Cf. Ibn al-Fārid's ode, 1, 25, where a similar figure is used. The commentary explains that the poet is called a lion because of his boldness in treading Allāh's way and opposing fleshly desires ; while the gazelle is the Beloved.

² i.e. ideas which are perceived by sense perception.

³ For the idea of unity in plurality cf. Nicholson, *Studies*, pp. 96 ff.

⁴ What may help others is a hindrance to the mystic. He can attain to the purest faith only by divesting himself of everything connected with sense perception.

⁵ . . . ⁵ Lit. "the law of".

The revelation came from the station of His attributes and obliterated revelations. . . .¹

A splendour to which [all] places of sunrise and sunset returned² produced flashes of noble qualities.

This is He whom I showed from the height of purity, the Truth of Reality, and He is a surpassing mystery.

At the time of His appearing, virgins of the inner room of love had girdles bound round their waists.

Do not seek knowledge in its effects; the revealing is a raising and the passing away is congruous.

Nay, seek the perfection of effacement in honouring Him, that outpourings from Him may be in your heart.

Now if the *qawwāl* utters poetry in which there is a description of a cheek, a mole, and a stature, it is to be applied to the cheek, mole, and stature of the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.).

As for the instruments of diversion, they are all forbidden by common consent, such as the harp (*jank*),³ the viol (*rabāb*),⁴ the lute ('ūd), the Persian lute (*barbaṭ*),⁵ the reed-pipe (*mizmār*),⁶ and such like,⁷ with the exception of the tambourine (*duff*),⁸ for two sound traditions about the permissibility of listening to the tambourine are handed down in Al-Bukhārī and Muslim. So those who have taste follow him (Allāh bless him, etc.).

¹ The line ends with "in which there is no *tāriq*. The sense is not at all clear. *Tāriq* means "one who knocks", "one who raids", "one who comes by night", "one who divines with pebbles", "morning star"; but none of these meanings seem to be suitable here.

² Professor Nicholson has explained this phrase to me as meaning, a splendour which is the ultimate source of all lights.

³ See Farmer, *History*, 16, 18, 210.

⁴ "The generic name in Arabic for the viol, or any stringed instrument played with a bow." *Enc. of Islām*, iii, 1084 ff. Cf. also Farmer, *Or. Mus. Instr.*, 75, 99 ff.

⁵ For the 'ūd and the *barbaṭ* see *Enc. of Islām*, iv, 985 ff.

⁶ See *Enc. of Islām*, iii, 539 ff.

⁷ Cf. Al-Ghazālī, *JRAS.* (1901), 211, 237, where reference is made to the prohibition of stringed instruments and pipes because they are associated with *mukhannathūn* and drinkers.

⁸ See Farmer, *op. cit.*, 84.

The condition of their assembling is that no beardless youth should be among them,¹ nor should there be a window through which women can look at them ; but if pious beardless youths are among them, they sit behind the men. Then when they experience within them a stirring which affects them like the commotion of one who is called to the service of a mighty king and to appear before Allāh (Exalted is He !), he who falls into ecstasy does not rise till he is overpowered, and the people do as he does. The dance is not to be affected or feigned, nay, their movements must be in accordance with the state, like one who is overcome by terror or unavoidable trepidation.² Then when their spirits receive a mystical apprehension (*ḥazz*) of the unseen states, and their hearts are softened by the lights of the divine Essence and are established in purity and the spiritual lights, they sit down, and he who chants (*muzamzim*) chants a light chant to bring them forth by degrees from the internal to the external. Then when he stops, someone other than the first reciter recites such [a passage] as “ This is our gift, so be lavish, or withhold without account . . . ” to His saying (Exalted is He !), “ those endowed with minds ”³ ; or, “ Verily, those who say, ‘ Our Lord is Allāh,’ then are steadfast. . . . ” to His saying (Exalted is He !), “ possessor of a mighty share,”⁴ and such like. Then if there is among them anyone in whom remains the residue of a state or of absorption, the *qawwāl* repeats [what he uttered] in a lighter voice than the first ; and if they remain seated, he does it a third time in a voice intermediate between the heavy and the light, since the complete ranks are three, the rank of men, the rank of the angel, and the rank of Lordship (*rubūbiyya*) at which there is absolute quiescence. Then they get up from the place of audition and go to their dwellings and sit watching for the

¹ Cf. *Kaṣḥf al-mahjūb*, 416 f.

² Cf. op. cit., 415 f. ; *JRAS.* (1902), 4.

³ Qur. xxxviii, 38–42.

⁴ Qur. xli, 30–5.

revelation of what appeared to them in the state of their absorption in ecstasy. After audition some of them dispense with food for days on account of the nourishment of their spirits and hearts with unseen mystical experiences (*wāridāt*). This is the way of the people, and no-one who has the least share of religion and light rejects such states as these.

As time went on, they permitted pious women who were of their number to look at them through windows and elsewhere, and [also allowed] their assembling with beardless youths who were pious, but not with others. Things went on like that till the common people imitated them, and the good was mingled with the corrupt, and the system was disordered.¹ So everyone must look to his own state and what pertains to him and leave everything else, just like him who lives among the sick; so he must be occupied with himself alone. Thus in the earliest times the religion was tender and fresh, strong and uncontaminated by any trace of corrupt beliefs and misleading opinions; but as time went on, beliefs became corrupted and misleading deeds became abundant,² as the lawgiver foretold in his saying, "My people will divide into seventy-three sects, one of which will be saved while the remainder perish." It was said, "O, apostle of Allāh, who are the sect which will be saved?" He said, "The one to which I and my Companions belong."³

So it is now necessary for every pious person to apply himself to what is true and abandon what is vain. And similarly the audition which is approved among the saints is what we have mentioned. And when the good is mingled with the

¹ Cf. *Kashf al-mahjūb*, 409.

² References to a deterioration with the passage of time are common. Sometimes it is said to be after the second or third generation of Islām (cf. Al-Bukhārī, *Shahādāt*, 9; *al-aimān wa'l-nudhūr*, 10; Abū Dāwud, *Sunna*, 9); at the end of the second century (cf. *Qūt al-qulūb*, iv, 227 f.); or at the end of the third century (cf. op. cit., ii, 41 f.).

³ Cf. Abū Dāwud, *Sunna*, 1; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, iv, 102. In Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, iii, 145, there is a form of the tradition nearer the wording given by Majd al-Dīn, but it is peculiar in that it gives the number as seventy-two.

corrupt, every possessor of taste and ecstasy must apply himself to audition according to its established conditions, and not withdraw from it at the word of an objector and opponent, for that brings about the abandonment of imitating the saints, and then one goes forth from the state of affairs [mentioned in] his saying (Peace be upon him!), "He who resembles a people is one of them."¹

As to the poor who are credited with belonging to this party but are not of them, their state with reference to the saints of earlier times is like the state of the jurists of the present time with reference to the jurists of earlier times, men of godliness and piety. That means that the principle of jurisprudence requires abstinence, godliness, piety, contentment with little worldly gear, lack of seeking luxuries, lack of running to the gates of kings except in the service of others, continuance in what the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) endured; his practice (Allāh bless him, etc.) was [expressed in the saying], "I am hungry one day and satisfied another." And 'A'isha (Allāh be pleased with her!) said, "Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) did not eat his fill from the time that news came to Al-Madīna of the raising of his power (Allāh bless him, etc.) over the weakening influence of pleasures,"² although the Truth (Exalted is He!) allowed that, when He (Exalted is He!) said, "O apostles, eat of the good things and do that which is good."³ [The principle of jurisprudence also requires] lack of building what one does not need, according to what has come down in the tradition, "If anyone builds above what he needs, Allāh will compel him to carry it on his shoulder."⁴ [It also requires] the continual practice of humility. The learned among the pious men of early days were like that.

¹ Cf. p. 74, n. 4.

² I am not familiar with this tradition, but traditions which speak of the hardship of Muḥammad's life are frequent.

³ Qur. xxiii, 53.

⁴ For a similar tradition, cf. Ibn Māja, *Zuhd*, 13.

It is related of Abū Ḥanifa (Allāh have mercy on him!) that when the Caliph offered him the office of *qāḍī*, he refused it, holding to his saying (Peace be upon him!), "He who is made a *qāḍī* is slaughtered without a knife"¹; and to his saying (Peace be upon him!), "The *qāḍīs* are three, two in hell and one in Paradise."² This was due to his godliness, religion, and holding to tradition. So when he came into the Caliph's presence and refused to accept the office of *qāḍī* when he offered it to him, he was stripped and beaten till the mark of the blows could be seen on his back and blood flowed from him. Then he consulted his friends, and they said, "What you consider to be for the best is right." Abū Yūsuf³ said, "There is no harm in that, for it comprises the benefit of the people." He then said, "It is as though I were chiding a *qāḍī*." Thereafter Al-Manṣūr visited Abū Ḥanifa,⁴ and among other things, he condoled with him and said, "This is the [greatest] jurist of Al-'Irāq." Then he summoned him and ordered that he should be given a thousand dirhams for every lash; and it is said that he had received fifty strokes. Then he offered him the office of *qāḍī*, but he said, "I am not fit for it." Yet again he offered it to him, and he said, "I must either be telling the truth, or telling a falsehood. Now if I am telling the truth, it is not right that you should appoint one who is not fit for it; and if I am telling a falsehood, it is not right that you should appoint one who tells falsehoods."⁵

¹ Abū Dāwud, *Aqḍiya*, 1.

² Ibid., *Aqḍiya*, 2.

³ d. 182. A Ḥanafī, who was *qāḍī* of Baghdād. See *Enc. of Islām*, i, 114.

⁴ B has "the Caliph", which is obviously a scribal error. I suggest that "Abū Ḥanifa" is the correct reading.

⁵ There are stories of Abū Ḥanifa being offered the office of *qāḍī* both in the time of Marwān II, the last Umayyad Caliph, and of Al-Manṣūr, the second 'Abbāsīd Caliph. In Marwān's time Yazīd ibn 'Umar ibn Hubaira, *amīr* of the two 'Irāqs, is said to have administered ten lashes daily till the number reached 110, because he refused the office (Cf. Ibn Kḥall, iii, 557 f.; *Al-Nawawī's Biog. Dict.*, 700). The story given above differs from this, as it says Abū Ḥanifa was brought before the Caliph (Marwān ?)

Similarly it is handed down about Abū'l-Laiṭh Al-Samarqandī¹ that he was godly and attentive to religion, so that he said, "For so many years the angel who records my evil deeds (*ṣāhib al-ṣhimāl*)² did not record anything against me in proportion," i.e. he knew his attentiveness to religion. An inquirer associated with him for a period, serving him and learning from him, and did not hear him utter one word of slander. If anyone began to slander [another] in his presence, he bent down his head to turn away from him and would not face him, to prevent his mind and heart from being injured, even if he [was speaking] the truth.

And the imām Jamāl al-Dīn al-Maḥbūnī³ in Bukhārā was like that. He was a self-denying, godly jurist who occupied himself with bodily acts of worship and busied himself with knowledge and learning; he never busied himself with anyone. When someone said to him, "So and so is an evildoer," he replied, "He (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, 'Part of the goodness of a man's Islām is to leave alone what does not

and received fifty strokes. An account of Al-Mansūr's dealings with Abū Ḥanīfa which corresponds in some respects with the story in the text above, is given in Ibn Khall, iii, 556 f.; Al-Nawawī, op. cit., 700 f., but there is no reference to his gift, and it is said that he imprisoned him after his second refusal. Th. W. Juynboll (*Enc. of Islām*, i, 91) suggests that the whole story is a "legend, invented by later Ḥanafites, who could not understand that the Government had never tried to induce the master to enter its service".

¹ A Ḥanafī jurist and theologian. d. between 373 and 393 (983 and 1002). Cf. Sarkis, *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique*, 1045; *Enc. of Islām*, i, 98.

² Everyone is said to have two recording angels, one on the right hand to record good deeds, and one on the left to record evil deeds. Cf. Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*, 279. Qur. i, 16, speaks of the "two meeters" who sit one on the right and the other on the left. This follows immediately on a reference to Allāh being nearer to man than his jugular vein. Cf. Al-Baiḍāwī, in loc., where he says that Allāh knows matters which may escape even the recording angels. See also Qur. lxxxii, 11. *Qūt al-qulūb*, ii, 68, says the novice is not repentant till the companion of the left hand (*ṣāhib al-ṣhimāl*) has had nothing to record for twenty years. It also says (ii, 81 f., 117) that the companion of the right hand is superior to the companion of the left.

³ I can find no reference to anyone of this name.

concern him.' ¹ And he (Peace be upon him!) said, 'Begin with yourself, then [deal with] him whom you support.' ² For it is not right that one whose own self is deficient should busy himself with other people."

Thus was the custom of the jurists of former times, but the jurists of the present time are the very opposite of that. They are characterized by avidity, cupidity, going backwards and forwards to the gates of kings, discussing people's reputation, and continual slander. He (Peace be upon him!) said, "Slander is more serious than fornication." ³ And he (Peace be upon him!) said, "Slander means that you say concerning your brother what he dislikes." Then a man said, "O apostle of Allāh, suppose my brother does what I say?" He (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "If your brother does what you say, you have slandered him; and if not, you have cast aspersions on him." ⁴ And he (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "Do not envy, hate, or backbite one another, but be servants of Allāh and brethren." ⁵ Forbidden to a Muslim are another Muslim's reputation, blood, and property, mutual envy, mutual hate, continual slander, discussing one another's reputation, and lack of eagerness to learn a thing in its true nature. But on the contrary, everyone is satisfied with what others say and has no eagerness to learn a thing in its true nature, the truth of the matter, its origin, the way to discover it and verify texts which prove it and answer objections to it; and there is lack of respect for the learned and the pious. So it appears from what is happening that the actions, affairs, and jurisprudence of the jurists of the present day in comparison

¹ Al-Tirmidhī, *Zuhd*, 11; Ibn Māja, *Fitan*, 12.

² This is an example of a tradition quoted altogether out of its context. Two traditions are combined here, both of which refer to charity, which has been received. Cf. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, ii, 4; Al-Nasā'ī, v, 61 f., 69. They have no connection with the subject of criticizing others.

³ Cf. *Qūt al-qulūb*, i, 147.

⁴ Cf. Abū Dāwud, *Adab*, 35.

⁵ Cf. Al-Bukhārī, *Adab*, 57; Muslim, v, 235; Abū Dāwud, *Adab*, 47; Ibn Māja, *Du'ā*, 5.

with the jurists of the past, who were godly, energetic, and religious, is like the state of the poor of the present day in comparison with the saints of the past. So if they blame the poor, saying that their audition is not permissible, they do not follow the provisos of the saints of the past. They are deserving of blame for not following what the godly jurists of the past were engaged in. So if they blame others, and do the opposite of what they ought, one may apply to them [the verse], "Why do you say what you do not do?"¹; and His saying (Exalted is He!), "Do you order men to be pious and forget yourselves?"²

We close the book (Praise be to Allāh and His good help!) with a tradition which has come to us from Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.), that he said, "When I order you to do something, do as much of it as you can."³ And Allāh is the best informed.

The book is finished. Praise be to Allāh by whom the good things are completed and the blessings come down, and by whose will He has made joys perfect, and from whom are the fates of death and of life! Praise be to Allāh alone! And Allāh bless our master, Muḥammad, his family, and his Companions, and grant peace!

¹ Qur. lxi, 2 f.

² Qur. ii, 41.

³ Al-Nasā'i, *Ḥajj*, 1; Ibn Māja, *Muqaddima*, 1.

IX

BAWĀRIQ AL-ILMĀ': TEXT

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ¹ وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ¹
الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي أَسْمَعَ الْعِبَادَ فِي الْمِيثَاقِ الْأَوَّلِ خُطَابُ أَلَسْتُ
بِرَبِّكُمْ² لِإِكْمَالِ رُتْبَةِ الْمَعَارِفِ وَكَمَلِ عُقُولِ الطَّلَابِ
لِإِدْرَاكِ فَوَائِدِ الْأَعْمَالِ وَاللِّطَائِفِ وَأَزَالَ حُجُبَ أَرْوَاحِهِمْ
الْمَانِعَةِ عَنِ التَّرَقِّيِّ إِلَى الْجَنَابِ الْأَحَدِيِّ بِرَفْعِ الْمَصَارِفِ
وَالصُّوَارِفِ³ وَارْقَ قُلُوبَهُمْ بِنُورِ الْيَقِينِ وَجَلَا مَرَاةَ نَفُوسِهِمْ
بِقُوَى التَّمَكِينِ حَتَّى وَجَدُوا آثَارَ التَّجَلِّيَّاتِ وَخَلَصُوا مِنْ
رَقِّ الشَّهَوَاتِ وَجَالَتْ أَجْسَادُهُمْ فِي السَّمَاعِ طُلُبَا خُلَاصِ
الرُّوحِ وَحِرْصَا عَلَى إِنَالَةِ جَلَائِلِ الْفَتْوحِ فَإِنَّهَا مِنْ أَكْمَلِ
صِفَاتِ الرَّجُلِ الْخَائِفِ⁴ وَأَصْلِيِّ عَلَى نَبِيِّهِ خَاتَمِ الرُّسُلِ
الْجَامِعِ بَيْنَ الْعَوَارِفِ وَالْمَعَارِفِ⁵ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ⁷ وَعَلَى

¹⁻¹ P om.

² An addition in the margin of B finishes the quotation with قَالَوا بلى.

³ P وَكَمَالِ.

⁴ B and P يَرْفَعُ.

⁵⁻⁵ B om. In margin the following is added: وَأَوْدَعَ فِي قُلُوبِهِمْ مِنْ

أَسْرَارِ كَلَامِهِ الرَّقَائِقِ وَاللِّطَائِفِ

⁶⁻⁶ P الْعَوَارِفِ وَالْمَعَارِفِ. Below الْعَوَارِفِ B has in small writing: التَّوَاضُعِ وَاللِّطَائِفِ.

⁷ B om.

آله وأصحابه صلاة¹ ترفع قائلها¹ إلى نواهي البركات
والشرائف

يقول² عبد³ الله المفتقر إلى² إئالة فيض⁴ فضل الله تعالى
الملتجئ⁵ إلى جناب الله أحمد بن محمد بن محمد الطوسي الغزالي⁵
ألحقه⁶ الله تعالى بعباده الأبرار في دار القرار سألني بعض⁸
الصالحاء المتوجّه إلى الله في⁹ السراء والضراء¹⁰ أن أكتب⁹
لأجله خاصًا وللطّلاب عامًا رسالة في السماع وفوائده
وشروط¹¹ فعله لظهور فوائده مستشهدا عليه بالقرآن
والحديث وأفعال الصحابة والرّد على منكريه¹² وما يلزمهم¹³
من المحذورات شرعا وأستدلّ بالكتاب والسنة¹⁴ والمنقول¹⁴
والمعقول¹⁴ على¹⁵ أن من قال إن السماع حرام مطلقا لزمه¹⁶
الاعتراف¹⁷ بأن النبي¹⁷ صلّى الله عليه وسلّم فعل حراما

1-1 B has in small writing below : جامع بين بواقى .

2-2 P العبد الفقير إلى الله تعالى في .

3 B عبيد .

4-4 Below in small writing B has ورضوانه .

5 B om .

6 Under this B has in small writing : الله عليه : [بارك؟] بار .

7 B om . 8 B بعض .

9-9 Under this B has in small writing : الله عليه [؟ ثبته] اهل التوحيد سه .

مناهج الاستقامة

10 B adds في المنام المحروسة .

11 P adds في .

12 B منكره .

13 B يلزمهم .

14-14 P في المعقول والمنقول .

15 B om .

16 B لزم منه .

17-17 B بآته .

ونظر بالحرام وأقر¹ غيره على الحرام ومن اختلج² في ظنّه
ذلك كفر بالإجماع وسدّت عليه طرائق³ المنائح والإماعات
فلما رأيت صدق رغبته أجبت سؤاله وحصلت
نواله بتحرير⁴ هذا الكتاب بعد الاستخارة من حضرة
الملك الوهاب وسميته بوارق الإماعات⁵ في الردّ⁶ على من
يحرم السماع بالإجماع وليس لمورد⁷ أن⁸ يورد على ما ذكرنا
في هذا الكتاب⁸ إلا بعد الإحاطة بجميع⁹ ما فيه وعند
ذلك¹⁰ لا يجد¹¹ للإيراد محلاً أصلاً نسأل¹² الله العظيم¹³
أن ينفع¹⁴ به إنه قريب¹⁵ مجيب

اعلم زين الله قلبك بنور الطاعة وأدرجك في حقيقة
الشهادة والشفاعة أن سماع هذه الطائفة عبارة عن ملا حظة
الأسرار الغريبة¹⁶ من الأشعار الرقيقة التي ينشدها¹⁷
القوّال مقرونا¹⁸ بالوجد¹⁹ الحاصل في قلب العارف العامل

¹ B واخر.

² B احتلج.

³ In B someone has added تكفير above. P طريق.

⁴ P بتحرير. ⁵⁻⁶ B والردّ. ⁶ P لوارد.

⁷ An addition in the margin of B has [ع] بالكتاب والسنة والإجماع.

⁸ B الكتاب. ⁹ B جميع. ¹⁰ P adds ان.

¹¹ B يجد. ¹² P om. ¹³ P om. ¹⁴ P يتنفع.

¹⁵ B قرب. ¹⁶⁻¹⁸ P الأشعار الغزلية. ¹⁷ B ينشدها.

¹⁹ B مقرونا. ¹⁸ B بالوجد.

والمريد¹ الكامل يحملهم² على خلع العذار والانجذاب³ الى
جناب⁴ الواحد القهار والاطلاع على الرقائق⁵ والأسرار
وإنما اختاروا لرفع⁶ هذه الحجب السماع بالأصوات
الحسنة في معظم الاوقات⁷ بعد أداء⁸ المأمورات لأن⁹
طبيعة الإنسان مائلة الى الصوت غريزة¹⁰ لاجتلاب¹¹
منافعه ودفع المضار بواسطته فلما¹² حصلت¹³ فيه زيادة¹⁴
ترتيبات¹⁵ نغمية ومناسبات روحية المسماة¹⁶ بالموسيقى
آثرتها على ما سواه فإذا سمع الإنسان¹⁷ المناسبات النغمية
المتضمنة المعاني الذوقية والحقائق التوحيدية مال الوجود
الى تلك¹⁸ بأسرها وأخذ كل عضو¹⁹ حظه على الانفراد
فالسمع لطائف المناسبات المطلقة²⁰ والبصر مناسبات²¹
الحركات والقلب لطائف المعاني والعقل وجدان المناسبات

¹ والمريد.² يحملهم.³ بالانجذاب.⁴ جناب.⁵ الدقائق.⁶ لرفع. The correction may have been intended to affect only one *lām*.⁷ الاوقات.⁸⁻⁹ بعداد.⁹ غريزة.¹⁰ الاجتلاب.¹¹ فلما.¹² حصل.¹³ بزيادة. P adds نغميات.¹⁴ ترتينات.¹⁵ نغمة.¹⁶ المسمى.¹⁷ الانسان.¹⁸ ملك.¹⁹ P adds بأسره.²⁰ B om.²¹ مناسبات.

المطلقة وعند اجتماع الأعضاء على الأمور الملائمة¹ يرتفع
حكم التنافر ويظهر حكم التوافق² والتنافر من الظلمة³
والتوافق³ من النور وعند ارتفاع الظلمة⁴ وانبساط النور
ينكشف أمور وحقائق لا يوصل إليها بألف اجتهد
ولا بد لمثل هذا السماع من الزمان والمكان⁵
والإخوان أمّا الزمان ففي أوقات صفاء قلوبهم⁶ ومحاولتهم
الاجتماع⁷ طلبا لرضى⁸ محبوبهم⁹ وتجريد¹⁰ ظاهرهم عن الحظوظ
النفسانية وتفريد باطنهم^{11 10} عن التعلق¹¹ بطلب الدرجات
وتحصيل المقامات وتوحيد أسرارهم¹² عند ورود النفحات
فإذا اجتمعوا في مثل هذا الزمان انعكست أنوار قلوب
البعض إلى قلوب آخرين فيزدادوا¹³ بذلك الاجتماع نورا
وظهورا ووضوحا وحبورا

وأما المكان فكالزوايا¹⁴ والخوانق¹⁵ والمساجد أولى¹⁶
إذ المسجد بني لعبادة الجسد والقلب مخلوق للمعرفة¹⁷

¹ الملائمة B.

⁴ الظلمة B.

⁷⁻⁷ P لطلب الرضى.

¹⁰ B باطنهم.

¹³ B فيزداد.

¹⁶ P om.

²⁻² P om.; B الظلمة.

⁵ B adds والا.

⁸ B محبوبهم ; P محبوبهم.

¹¹⁻¹¹ P على التعلق.

¹⁴ B كالزوايا ; P كالزوايا.

¹⁷ B إذ.

³ P والتباصر.

⁶ B قلوبهم.

⁹ B وتجريد.

¹² P اسمائهم.

¹⁵ B والخوانك.

وظهور¹ الله تعالى² فيه كما ورد في الخبر³ لا يسمعي⁴ أرضي
 ولا سمائي⁵ ولكن يسمعي⁶ قلب عبدي المؤمن وهو مهبط
 الأنوار الإلهية فإذا تحرك صاحب القلب في المسجد
 لازدياد نور قلبه وصفاء نفسه كان أولى من تحريك جسد
 غيره بالصلوة الجسدية من غير⁷ الحضور ولا خلاف⁸
 أن من دخل المسجد واشتغل بالصلوة⁹ الصورية¹⁰ وكان
 قلبه مشحونا¹¹ من الوسواس والتخيلات والأمور التي
 نهى الشارع عنها وكان ساعيا في إزالة تلك¹² الموانع عن
 قلبه ما يمنع دخول المسجد أصلا بل أبلغ¹³ من ذلك¹³
 محقق دخول ظالم¹⁴ فاجر آكل الحرام المسجد¹⁵ وعلم
 بالقرائن أن قلبه مشغول بالفكر¹⁶ في مظالم الناس وأخذ
 أموالهم واشتغل بالصلوة¹⁷ صورة لا يمنع دخوله فكيف
 يمنع لمن يروم طهارة نفسه وجلاء قلبه وصفاء روحه بسماع¹⁸
 غرائب¹⁹ الكلام وإدراك لطائف الأشعار الموجبة لثبوت²⁰

¹ B فظهور.² P om.³ B الخبر.⁴ B يسمعي.⁵ P سمائي.⁶ B يسمعي.⁷ B غير.⁸ B خلاف.⁹ B بالصلوة.¹⁰ B الصورة.¹¹ B مشحونا.¹² B ملك.¹³⁻¹² P بذلك.¹⁴ B طالم.¹⁵ P المجد.¹⁶ P بالعكر.¹⁷ B بالصلوة.¹⁸ P بمن.¹⁹ B غراب.²⁰ B ثبوت.

نسبته مع الملائكة وقطع نسبته¹ مع الأبالسة فإذا اجتمع
 أهل الصفاء في مقام العبادة وأرادوا² اتّصال صفاء قلوب³
 البعض إلى البعض وازدياد أنوارهم وتكثير⁴ صفاء نفوسهم
 تأيّدت نفوسهم بنور ذلك المكان وازدادت أحوالهم
 وتكمّلت⁵ ذواتهم⁶ إذ كل⁷ مكان⁸ بني للعبادة تعلق به⁹
 روح ونور من عالم الغيب وازداد حرمة وإجلالا¹⁰
 كالإصطبل فإنّه إذا جعل مسجدا¹¹ تعلق به¹² التعظيم¹³
 والإجلال¹⁴ [وصار محلا للملائكة]¹⁴ بعد ما كان محلّ
 النجاسة والشیاطين فالقعود فيه وهو مسجد يورث¹⁵
 تنوير الباطن قال¹⁶ النبي¹⁷ صلّى الله عليه وسلّم¹⁸ المسجد
 بيت كلّ تقيّ

وأما الإخوان فهم على ثلاثة أقسام إخوان الاسم
 أي المشتركون¹⁹ في اسم الإيمان قال الله تعالى إنّما
 المؤمنون إخوة فهولاء²¹ لا تجوز²² مصاحبته²³ دائما²⁴

¹ النسبة P.² وإرادة P.³ قلوب B. ⁴ وتكثير B.⁵ تألفت P. ; وتكملت B.⁶ ذواتهم P.⁷⁻⁷ ادخل P. ⁸ مكانا B.⁹ B. هـ.¹⁰ وجلالة P.¹¹ مسجد P.¹² B. هـ.¹³ التعظيم B.¹⁴⁻¹⁴ Addit. in C.¹⁵ مسجد B.¹⁶ قال B.¹⁷ B. om.¹⁸⁻¹⁸ B. عليه السلام.¹⁹ المشتركون P.²⁰ B. om.²¹ فهولاء B.²² P. om.²³ Following C. B. تجوز P. تجوز.²⁴ مصاحبته P.

بل¹ يصحبون لمحّة² لإفادتهم ما ينتفعون به وإخوان
الإرادة والمحبة كالعوامّ المعينين لهم بهم³ ونفوسهم على
تحصيل طرق الصفاء فهؤلاء وإن لم يكونوا متّصفين
بأوصافهم⁴ جازت⁵ مصاحبتهم فإنّهم بقوة الإرادة
والصدق يكتسبون من أنوار قلوب أهل الصفاء كما
يكتسب الشمع اللّين من حرّ الشمس فإذا رجعوا إلى
العوامّ انتفع⁶ غيرهم بهم وإخوان الصفاء والمواجيد والمعارف
والتفاريذ⁷ والذوق والشوق والكمال فهؤلاء هم الإخوان
بالحقيقة

فإذا اجتمع الزمان والمكان والإخوان وجب السماع
لأهل العرفان والكمال والصفاء والوصال كما يجب⁸ مسافرة
الجاهل إلى العالم ليعلم⁹ منار الدين ويندب¹⁰ في حقّ
المريدين¹¹ ومباح¹² في حقّ المحبّين تشبّها بأهل الصفاء
والكمال في حرّكاتهم وسكناتهم قال النبيّ¹³ صلّى الله عليه
وسلم¹⁴ من تشبّه بقوم فهو منهم ومن أحبّ قوما حشر معهم

¹ P om.² P لمحة.³ B بهم ; P بهم.⁴ B بأوصافهم.⁵ B جاز.⁶ B بهم.⁷ B والتفاريذ.⁸ B يجب.⁹ P ليعلم.¹⁰ B وندب.¹¹ B المريدين.¹² P ويباح.¹³ B om.¹⁴ B عليه السلام.

وقال¹ الله² تعالى³ يا أيها⁴ الذين آمنوا اتقوا⁵ الله وكونوا
مع الصادقين أي إن لم تكونوا⁶ منهم فكونوا معهم
وقال⁷ تعالى ولو علم⁸ الله فيهم خيراً لأسمعهم أي الحق⁹
والحكمة والمواعظ¹⁰ والزواج¹¹ فقله¹² أسمعهم أعم¹³ من
أن يكون قرآنا أو حديثاً أو أشعاراً¹⁴ أو غير¹⁵ ذلك وقال¹⁶
صلى¹⁷ الله عليه وسلم¹⁸ إن¹⁹ من الشعر لحكمة فمن لم يعلم²⁰
الله به خيراً²¹ فلا يسمعه الحكمة والمعرفة والمواعظ²²
والزواج²³ فلا يسمعه حينئذ الخير والحق من الأشعار في
السمع ومن لم²⁴ يجد شيئاً من الحق²⁵ والحكمة والفوائد²⁶
من أمر أنكره فينئذ يكون الإنكار²⁷ على نفسه

وفي إنكار سماع الغناء²⁸ وسماع ضرب الدف والأصوات²⁹
الحسنة مخالفة السنة³⁰ واعتقاد³¹ تحريمها³² كفر والإعراض³³
والإنتهاء³⁴ عنها فسق³⁵ ورد في البخاري ومسلم عن الربيع بنت³⁶
معوذ بن عفراء قالت جاء النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم وجلس³⁷

¹ وقال B. ² B om. ³ يا أيها ; P. ⁴ B اتقوا. ⁵ B يكونوا. ⁶ P adds الله. ⁷ P om. ⁸ B فقله. ⁹ B حديثاً. ¹⁰⁻¹⁰ B وغير. ¹¹⁻¹¹ B عليه السلام. ¹² B يعلم. ¹³ P خير. ¹⁴ B لا. ¹⁵ P والفرايد. ¹⁶ B الإنكار. ¹⁷ P الغناء. ¹⁸ P adds السنة ; B. ¹⁹ B الاعتقاد. ²⁰ B تحريمها. ²¹ P والانتها. ²² B فسق. ²³ P الربيع. ²⁴ B معمود ; P. ²⁵ B من.

على فراشي وعندي جويزات يضربن¹ بالدف² ويندن³
 من قتل من آباي⁴ يوم⁵ بدر⁶ فقالت إحداهن⁷ وفينا
 نبي⁸ يعلم ما في غد⁹ فقال صلي¹⁰ الله عليه وسلم¹¹ دعي¹²
 هذا وقولي ما كنت¹³ تقولين وكان الشعر بيت¹⁴
 تحارب أقوام ببرقة سهمد¹⁵

بضرب¹⁶ وطعن والسيوف المهند¹⁷
 فعدلت إحداهن¹⁸ إلى قولها وفينا نبي¹⁹ يعلم²⁰
 ما في غد²¹ فهذا الحديث²² دال²³ على أنه صلي²⁴
 الله عليه وسلم²⁵ سمع صوت²⁶ الدف²⁷ والغناء والشعر من

¹ This reading follows the text given in Al-Bukhārī. B جويزتان يضربان ;
 P جويزتان يضربان. C has جويزتان, but thereafter pl. is used. The fact
 that B and P have the masc. in the dual of the vb. suggests that the
 original had 3 pl. fem. and that the *alif* has been inserted.

² B and P ويندان.

³ C and P om. In B it was originally omitted, but has been added
 by a later hand.

⁴ B إباهن. P إباهن. C also has إباهن. Text follows Al-Bukhārī.

⁵ P repeats. ⁶ بدر. ⁷ B أحدهما. ⁸ P غدا.

⁹ P adds النبي. Al-Bukhārī om. ¹⁰ B om.

¹¹ B كنتي. There are a number of slight variations from Al-Bukhārī's
 text. I have followed his reading only in important words, as the author
 was probably simply quoting from memory, and would be more interested
 in recording the incident than in considering verbal accuracy.

¹² B نيت ; P om. and adds وفيما الذي نقول. ¹³ P سهمك.

¹⁴⁻¹⁵ P وطن يضرب من سيوف المهدي. ¹⁶ B أحدهما ; P أحدهما.

¹⁷ P غدا. ¹⁸⁻¹⁹ P والحديث. ²⁰ P om.

الجويريات¹ التي² لهنّ حالة تحريم³ سماع أصواتهنّ في
الكبر من غير حاجة وهو⁴ صلّى الله عليه وسلّم حاضر⁵
يصغى⁶ إليهنّ فأذن سماع الغناء وصوت الدفّ من
الرجل⁷ بطريق⁸ الأولى فكيف⁹ وقد أمر الجويرية¹⁰
بالغناء شعرا وضرب الدفّ حيث قال قولي ما كنت¹¹
تقولين

والأمر للوجوب إذا تجرّد عن القرائن كقوله تعالى¹²
أقيموا¹³ الصلوة¹⁴ أوللندب¹⁵ كقوله تعالى¹⁶ فكاتبوهم إن علمتم
فيهم خيرا أو للإباحة كقوله تعالى¹⁷ وإذا أحلّتم فاصطادوا
وهاهنا¹⁸ يحتمل الوجوب¹⁹ لأنّه صلّى الله عليه وسلّم أمرها²⁰
مشافهة²¹ بإعادة²² ما كانت تقول²³ وهو مصغى إلى معانيه
فإذا طلب صلّى الله عليه وسلّم شيئا مصغيا إلى معناه

¹ B الجويرات ; P الجويرتين .

² P اللتين .

³ B تحرم .

⁴ P adds كونه .

⁵ P حاضرنا .

⁶ P يصغى .

⁷ P has as explanatory note in margin صاحب الوجد .

⁸ I have retained this form here and in other places where it occurs, although بالطريق is the more normal form. But on p. 136 I read بالطريق, as it occurs there in P.

⁹ B فكيف .

¹⁰ P الجويرتين .

¹¹ B كنتى .

¹² B om.

¹³ P واقبوا .

¹⁴⁻¹⁵ P والندب .

¹⁶ B om.

¹⁷ B om.

¹⁸ P هنا .

¹⁹ P الجواب .

²⁰ P repeats.

²¹ P مستفاهمة .

²² P بإعادة .

²³ P عليه من القول .

²⁴ B مصنى .

وجب¹ ذكره كقوله تعالى² يَا أَيُّهَا³ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا اسْتَجِيبُوا⁴
 لِلَّهِ وَلِلرَّسُولِ إِذَا دَعَاكُمْ وَمَتَابَعْتَهُ وَاجِبَةٌ⁵ لِقَوْلِهِ⁶ تَعَالَى⁷
 قُلْ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ تُحِبُّونَ اللَّهَ فَاتَّبِعُونِي⁸ وَاسْتَدْعَاءُ قَوْلِ الْمَعْنَى⁹
 قَوْلًا غِنَاءً لَيْسَ بِوَاجِبٍ إِجْمَاعًا فَبَقِيَ عَلَى الْإِبَاحَةِ لِقَوْلِهِ
 تَعَالَى¹⁰ لَقَدْ كَانَ لَكُمْ فِي رَسُولِ اللَّهِ أُسْوَةٌ حَسَنَةٌ وَقَالُوا فِي
 أَصُولِ الْفَقْهِ فَعَلَهُ الْمَجْرَدُ يَدُلُّ عَلَى الْإِبَاحَةِ عِنْدَ مَالِكٍ وَعَلَى
 النَّدْبِ عِنْدَ الشَّافِعِيِّ¹¹ وَعَلَى الْوَجُوبِ عِنْدَ ابْنِ سَرِيحٍ¹²
 وَأَبِي سَعِيدٍ الْأَصْطَخَرِيِّ¹³ وَابْنِ خَيْرَانَ¹⁴ اسْتَدَلَّ قَائِلٌ¹⁵
 الْإِبَاحَةَ بِأَنَّهُ فَعَلَهُ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ لَا يَكْرَهُ وَلَا يَحْرِمُ وَالْأَصْلُ
 عَدَمُ الْوَجُوبِ وَالنَّدْبِ¹⁶ إِلَّا بِقَرِينَةٍ¹⁷ وَلَا قَرِينَةٍ¹⁸ فَبَقِيَ¹⁹
 عَلَى²⁰ الْإِبَاحَةِ قُلْنَا الْغَالِبُ عَلَى فَعَلِهِ الْوَجُوبُ وَالنَّدْبُ وَاسْتَدَلَّ²¹
 الْقَائِلُ بِالنَّدْبِ بِقَوْلِهِ²² تَعَالَى لَقَدْ كَانَ لَكُمْ فِي رَسُولِ اللَّهِ
 أُسْوَةٌ حَسَنَةٌ وَذَلِكَ²³ يَدُلُّ عَلَى الرَّجْحَانِ²⁴ وَالْأَصْلُ عَدَمُ
 الْوَجُوبِ إِلَّا بِقَرِينَةٍ²⁵ وَلَا قَرِينَةٍ²⁶ فَبَقِيَ عَلَى النَّدْبِ وَاسْتَدَلَّ²⁷

¹ B وجب.² B om.³ B يا ايها، P يا ايها.⁴ B واجب.⁵ P كقوله.⁶ B om.⁷ P فاتبعون.⁸ P المعنى.⁹ B om.¹⁰ B الوجوب.¹¹ B بن.¹² B شرح، P شرح.¹³ P وابن.¹⁴ P الاصطرخي.¹⁵ P حيران.¹⁶ P ما يدل على.¹⁷ P والندب.¹⁸ B بقرينه.¹⁹ P قربنه.²⁰ P om.²¹ B om.²² P لقوله.²³ B وذلك.²⁴ B الرجحان.²⁵⁻²⁶ P om.²⁷ B استدل.

القائل بالوجوب بقوله¹ تعالى قل² إن كنتم تحبون الله
فاتَّبِعُونِي³ يحببكم الله وما⁴ اتاكم الرسول فخذوه⁵
وأجمعت⁷ الصحابة على وجوب⁸ الغسل بالتقاء¹⁰ الختانين¹¹
لقول عائشة¹² أم المؤمنين¹³ رضي الله عنها¹³ فعلته¹⁴ أنا¹⁴
ورسول الله فاغتسلنا¹⁵ مع اتفاق¹⁶ الصحابة على عدم
الغسل وقت المباشرة بغير الإنزال تمسكا¹⁷ بقوله صلى
الله عليه وسلم¹⁷ إنما¹⁷ الماء من الماء وفي هذه الصورة فقد
سمع صلى الله عليه وسلم¹⁸ صوت الدف والغناء واستعاد¹⁹
فكان على قول بعض²⁰ الأصوليين²¹ واجبا²² وعلى قول
البعض ندبا وعلى قول البعض مباحا ولم يقل أحد بالحرمة
فن قال إن سماع²³ الغناء²⁴ وصوت الدف حرام حرّم
الوجوب²⁵ أو الندب أو الإباحة فيلحقه إثم عظيم

¹ P لقوله.² P om.³ P فاتَّبِعُونِي.⁴ B ما.⁵ B اتاكم.⁶ B فخذوه.⁷ P واجتمعت.⁸ B repeats.⁹ B وجوب.¹⁰ B بالقاء.¹¹ B الختانين.¹²⁻¹³ P om. B المؤمنين.¹³⁻¹⁴ B om. ¹⁴ P فقالت B فعلت. Text follows Ibn Māja, *Tayammum*, 21.¹⁵ P اغتسلنا.¹⁶ P adds لبعض.¹⁷⁻¹⁷ B عليه السلام.¹⁸ B adds سماع.¹⁹ P والاشعار.²⁰ B البعض.²¹ B الأصوليين.²² P واجبا.²³ P السماع.²⁴ P والغنا.²⁵ B الواجب.

وروى البخاري ومسلم عن عائشة¹ رضي الله عنها²
 أنَّها قالت دخل عليها أبو بكر³ رضي الله تعالى عنه⁴
 وعندها جويريتان⁵ تضربان⁶ بالدف⁷ وفي رواية⁸ تغنيان⁹
 بما تقاولت به¹⁰ الأنصار يوم بعث¹¹ والنبي¹² صلى الله عليه
 وسلم تغشى بشوبه¹³ فانتهرهما أبو بكر¹⁴ رضي الله تعالى
 عنه¹⁵ فكشف النبي¹⁶ صلى الله عليه وسلم عن وجهه¹⁷ وقال¹⁸
 دعهما يا أبا بكر¹⁹ فإنها أيام عيد²⁰ وهذا الحديث²¹
 بصراحته دال على جواز²² سماع²³ الدف²⁴ والغناء وحضورهما²⁵
 والرد على منكريهما²⁶ وفيه بيان²⁷ على زجر المنكر ودفعه²⁸
 عن الإنكار²⁹ لأنه صلى الله عليه وسلم نهى³⁰ عن³¹
 الإنكار³² عليه فمن قال إن سماع³³ الغناء حرام وضرب³⁴
 الدف حرام وحضورهما حرام³⁵ فكأنه³⁶ قال إن النبي³⁷
 صلى الله عليه وسلم سمع حراما ومنع³⁸ الناهي³⁹ عن الحرام⁴⁰
 ومن اعتقد ذلك⁴¹ كفر بالاتفاق⁴²

¹ عائشة. B² P adds تعالى. ³⁻⁴ B om. ⁵ جويريتان. B⁶ يضربان. P ⁷ تضربان. B⁸ رواية. B⁹ يغنيان. B, P ¹⁰ P om.¹¹ الأنصار. B¹² بعث. B¹³ شوبه. B¹⁴⁻¹⁵ B om.¹⁶ وجهه. B¹⁷ أيام. B¹⁸ عيد. B¹⁹ جواز. B²⁰ سماع. P²¹ للدف. P²² منكريهما. B²³ بيان. B²⁴ الإنكار. B²⁵ على. P²⁶ الإنكار. B²⁷ P om.²⁸ فانه. P²⁹ المناهي. P³⁰ ذلك. P³¹ بالاتفاق. B

فإن قيل يجوز¹ هذا في يوم عيد² لا في غيره لأنه
صلى الله عليه وسلم قيّد جوازه بيوم³ عيد⁴ وبه قال
أحمد بن حنبل⁵ قلنا إن الاتفاق على أن خصوص السبب
لا يمنع عموم الحكم كقوله تعالى⁶ إن الذين كفروا
سواء عليهم⁷ أندرته أم لم تنذرهم⁸ لا يؤمنون نزلت في
حق أبي جهل وأبي لهب وعتبة وشيبة⁹ وعبد الله
ابن سلول¹⁰ والحكم عام في حق جميع¹¹ الكفار وفي
الحديث المذكور دلالة على أن كل حالة مشروعة يكون
فيها فرح القلب¹² وطيبة¹³ الباطن في أيام العبادة¹⁴ وغيرها
جاز فيها¹⁵ السماع بالدفع والغناء والأشعار
وفي مسند أحمد أن الحبشة كانوا يدفقون¹⁶ بين يدي
رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ويرقصون¹⁷ ويقولون محمد
عبد صالح فقال¹⁸ صلى الله عليه وسلم ما يقولون قالوا¹⁹

¹ B يجوز. ² P العيد. ³ B يوم. ⁴ P العيد.

⁵ P adds رضي الله عنه which is appropriate only for a companion of the Prophet. If some such phrase is to be added, رحمه الله would be more suitable.

⁶ B om. ⁷ P عليهم. ⁸ B تنذرهم. ⁹ P وشيبة.
¹⁰ B, P بن. ¹¹ P adds لعنهم الله تعالى. ¹² B جميع. ¹³ B الغلوب.
¹⁴ P وطيب. ¹⁵ P العبادة. ¹⁶ B فيها. ¹⁷ P يدفقون.
¹⁸ B ويرقصون. ¹⁹ P adds رسول الله.

يقولون محمد عبد صالح وهذا¹ الحديث² بصراحته يدلّ
على جواز حضور الرقص وجواز سماع صوت الدفّ³
والغناء فمن قال إنّ الرقص حرام وضرب الدفّ⁴ والغناء
حرام⁴ كان ذلك اعترافاً منه أنّ النبيّ صلّى الله عليه
وسلم حضر الحرام⁵ وأقرّ غيره⁶ على الحرام⁶ ومن
اختلج⁸ في ظنّه ذلك⁹ كفر بالاتّفاق¹⁰

فإن قال المنكر إذا كان هذا جائز في حقّ النبيّ
صلّى الله عليه وسلم فلم¹¹ قلتم¹² إنّّه¹² جائز في حقنا قلنا
الدليل على جوازه أنّه¹³ صلّى الله عليه وسلم¹⁴ شارع ولا
يجوز¹⁵ للشارع أن يكتّم أمراً فيه حكم شرعيّ لقوله
تعالى¹⁶ إنّ الذين يكتّمون ما أنزلنا من البيّنات¹⁷ والهدى
من بعد ما بيّنناه للناس في الكتاب¹⁸ أولئك يلعنهم الله
ويلعنهم¹⁹ اللاعنون ولقوله تعالى²⁰ وإذا أخذ الله ميثاق الذين²¹

¹ P فهذا.² P حديث.³ P om.⁴⁻⁴ P حرام والغناء.⁵ P حراماً.⁶⁻⁶ P وأقرّ المحرم على غيره.⁷ B غيره.⁸ B اختلج.⁹⁻⁹ P ذلك في ظنّه.¹⁰ B بالاتفاق.¹¹ P فلم.¹² P adds غير.¹³ P في حقّه.¹⁴ P adds لانه.¹⁵ B يجوز.¹⁶ B om.¹⁷ B البيّنات.¹⁸ B الكتاب.¹⁹ B ولعنهم.²⁰ B om.²¹ B الذين.

أوتوا الكتاب¹ لتبينته² للناس ولا تكتُمونه³ فلو كان فعل⁴
الرقص وحضور السماع والغناء⁵ وضرب الدفّ حراما كان
واجبا عليه⁶ بحكم هذه الآية تنبيه لغيره⁷ ولو جاز ذلك له
دون غيره وجب عليه بيانه⁸ كما ورد في الخبر أنه صلى الله
عليه وسلم نهاهم عن الوصال ثم فعل فلما سألوا قال لست
كأحدكم إنني⁹ أبيت عند ربّي يطعمني ويسقيني¹⁰ ولما
حضر الرقص وسماع الدفّ والغناء ولم ينه أحدا عن ذلك
دلّ على جوازه¹¹ مطلقا

فإن قال المنكر إن الرقص لعب واللعب حرام لأنه
صلى الله عليه وسلم قال لا¹² الدد¹³ منّي ولا أنا من
الدد¹⁴ والد الدد¹⁵ اللعب قلنا هذا الحديث مخصوص باللعب¹⁶
المحرم كالنرد والقمار وما أشبه ذلك لأنه ورد في البخاري
عن عائشة رضي الله عنها أن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم

¹ الكتاب. B. ² B, C, P ليسينه.

³ B, C, P يكتُمونه. The three MSS. have 3rd pers. instead of 2nd pers., which suggests that this was the actual text, the author presumably having quoted wrongly from memory.

⁴ فعل. B. ⁵ والغنى. B. ⁶ B om. ⁷ P لغير. ⁸⁻⁸ P om.

⁹ P om. B has added this word, writing it above أبيت.

¹⁰ B وسقيني. ¹¹ P جواره. ¹² P ليس. ¹³ P الدد.

¹⁴ P الدد. ¹⁵ P والرّد. ¹⁶ B قلنا. ¹⁷ P محصوص.

كان واقفا على باب بيتي والحبشة يلعبون بحراهم في المسجد وأنا أنظر إلى لعبهم فإذا جاز اللعب في المسجد في حضرة الشارع في غيره بالطريق¹ الأولى فمن قال إن اللعب مطلقا² حرام كان ذلك اعترافا منه أن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم نظر إلى الحرام وأقر الحرام على حاله ومن اختلج³ في ظنه ذلك³ كفر بالاتفاق⁴

فإن قال المنكر ورد في الخبر لا لعب إلا في ثلاث⁵ في الرمي والفرس وملاعبة الرجل⁶ أهله قلنا هذا حصر⁷ الخاص للاهتمام به وذلك لا يدل على تحريم⁸ ما سواه كما قال الله تعالى⁹ إنما أنت منذر وكلمة¹⁰ إنما¹¹ للحصر وفيه إشارة إلى أن الإنذار مختص بك لأنك¹² خاتم النبيين وذلك لا يفيد الحصر إذ هو صلى الله عليه وسلم مبشر¹³ ومبلغ¹⁴ وغير ذلك فكذلك هاهنا فقد ذكر هذه الثلاث¹⁵ بالحصر إما لأن فيها¹⁶ ما هو¹⁶ موجب لإكمال

¹ بطريق B.² مطلعا B.³⁻⁴ ذلك ذلك في ظنه P.⁴ بالاتفاق B.⁵ ثلث P.⁶ B adds مع.⁷ حضر B.⁸ تحريم B.⁹⁻¹⁰ B om.¹⁰ P وكلامه.¹¹ P adds هو.¹² لأنك B.¹³ P مبلغ.¹⁴ P ومبشر B.¹⁵ B الثلاثة، P الثلاثة.¹⁶⁻¹⁷ P om.

ظهور¹ الدين في الرمي والفرس² أو التوادد² والتحاب³
 لشبوت المودة⁴ بين الزوج والزوجة والولد الحاصل بين⁵
 المتحابين يكون رضي⁶ الأخلاق والولد الذي يأتي⁷ بين
 المتنافرين يكون سيئ⁸ الأخلاق

وقال الله تعالى الذين يستمعون⁹ القول فيتبعون¹⁰
 أحسنه أولئك الذين هداهم الله وأولئك هم أولوا¹¹
 الأبواب¹² والقول أعم¹³ من أن يكون قرآنا أو حديثا أو
 حكاية حال¹⁴ الصالحين¹⁵ أو سماع¹⁵ الأشعار ثم مدح الله
 تعالى مستمع القول ومتبع أحسنه بالهداية¹⁶ والعقل¹⁷ فيلزم
 من هذا أن من¹⁸ لم يسمع قول الغناء المفهوم¹⁹ من مطلق
 قوله يستمعون القول المشتمل على الحكمة بالصوت²⁰
 الحسن لم يكن الله²¹ هدام ولا وهبهم العقل ومن كان

¹ B ظهور. ²⁻³ P والتودد. ³ B adds لاهله. ⁴ P المدة.

⁵ B سن. ⁶ B ناتي. ⁷ P من. ⁸ B om.

⁹ B يستمعون. ¹⁰ B يسمعون. ¹¹ P الدين. ¹² P اولو.

¹³ P الالاب. ¹⁴ P om. ¹⁵⁻¹⁶ P وسماع. ¹⁶ P om.

¹⁷ P بالعقل. ¹⁸ P om. ¹⁹ P المنموم. ²⁰ B بالصوت.

²¹ A word which is not very clear has been added in B by another hand above the line. It begins with either يعال or يعل. It may be meant to be تعالى, which does not occur in the text after الله, or it may be يعلم and so be explanatory of هدام; but if it is the latter, the tense is wrong.

غايًا¹ عن الهداية² كان ضالًّا إذ³ الضلال ضد الهداية
والضال من أهل النار حيث جعل الضلالة⁴ صفة⁵
النصارى كما قال⁶ تعالى⁷ في حقهم قد ضلّوا⁸ من قبل
وأضلّوا كثيرًا فلزم من هذا أن من لم⁹ يسمع قول¹⁰
الغناء المفهوم من مطلق قوله يستمعون القول الباقي¹¹ على
عمومه وعدم وجدان ما يخصّه من¹² الغناء بالصوت يكون
ضالًّا وكيف وقد اجتمعت الثلاثة في حضرة رسول الله
صلّى الله عليه وسلّم حيث قالت امرأة¹³ يا رسول الله¹³
إنّي نذرت أن أضرب بين يديك¹⁴ بالدفّ فقال¹⁵
صلّى الله عليه وسلّم إن كنت نذرت¹⁶ فاضربي فضربت
وغنّت بيت¹⁷

طلع البدر علينا من ثنّيات الوداع¹⁸
وجب الشكر علينا ما دعا¹⁹ لله داع²⁰

¹ غايًا B. ² الهداية B. ³ إذا B. ⁴ P om.
⁵ صفة P. ⁶ P adds الله. ⁷ B om. ⁸ P ضلّوا.
⁹ P om. ¹⁰ P om. ¹¹ P النافي. ¹² B عن.
¹³⁻¹⁴ B يا رسول الله. ¹⁴ B يدك. ¹⁵ P adds الله رسول. ¹⁶ P نذرتي.

¹⁷ P om. B usually places this word before a poetical quotation. It is not to be taken here as obj. of the preceding verb (in which case it should have been بيتنا), but simply as a sign that what follows is poetry.

¹⁸ P داعي. ¹⁹ B and P دعى. Text follows C. ²⁰ P داعي.

فقد¹ سمع صلى الله عليه وسلم² بحكم هذا الحديث قول³ المرأة بالصوت³ والغناء وضرب الدف³ فمن قال إن حضور السماع وضرب الدف³ والرقص حرام فكأنه⁴ قال إن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فعل حراما وأصغى إلى الحرام ومن اختلج⁵ في ظنه⁶ ذلك⁶ فقد كفر بالاتفاق ولا خلاف أن النذر لا ينعقد في الحرام

ومما⁷ يؤكد جواز الرقص ما ذكر في مسند أحمد بن حنبل عن علي كرم الله وجهه أنه قال أتيت النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم أنا وجعفر وزيد فقال⁹ لزيد أنت مولاي فجعل¹⁰ وقال لجعفر¹¹ أنت أشبهت¹² خلقي¹³ وخلقني¹⁴ قال فجعل¹⁵ ثم قال لي أنت مني فجعلت¹⁶

¹ P وقد. ² B قول. ³⁻³ P والدف والغناء. ⁴ B مكانه.

⁵ B احتلج. ⁶⁻⁶ P ذلك في ظنه. ⁷ B وما. ⁸ P ابن.

⁹ B فقال. ¹⁰ P فجعل. ¹¹ P يا جعفر. ¹² B أشبهت.

¹³ B خلقي. P خلقي. Text follows *Musnad* of Ahmad ibn Hanbal (i, p. 108).

¹⁴ B وخلقني. ¹⁵ P فجعل.

¹⁶ P فجعلت. This tradition has omissions of words, as compared with its form in the source quoted ; but the author is presumably quoting from memory. As the omissions do not affect the sense, I have not felt it necessary to indicate Ahmad's rendering in every detail.

والحجل¹ رقص خاص² والعام جزء الخاص² أي داخل فيه
فإذا جاز³ نوع من الرقص جاز مطلقه

فإن قال المنكر سلّمنا جواز التحجيل⁴ فلم قلتم إنه
يجوز التكثير⁵ منه قلنا ما يدلّ على جواز⁶ التكثير⁷ منه أن⁸
الشيء المطلق إذا جاز⁹ بعضه¹⁰ ولم يرد¹¹ النهي عن الباقي¹²
بقي على جوازه إذ لو كان البعض الآخر على الحرمة لوجب
عليه¹³ بيانه لقوله تعالى¹⁴ وأنزلنا¹⁵ إليك الذكر لتبين للناس
فلو كان التكثير منه حراما لوجب عليه بيانه ولما لم ينههم
عن ذلك دلّ على جوازه

فهذه الأمور التي ذكرناها¹⁶ تتعلق¹⁷ بالكتاب¹⁸
والسنة¹⁹ وأما الذي يتعلق بالمنقول²⁰ فما روى أبو طالب²¹
المكّي صاحب قوت القلوب وهو ثقة عند²² أهل الإسلام
أن بعض الصحابة مثل حارثة وعبد الله بن جعفر وغيرهما²³
أن بعض الصحابة مثل حارثة وعبد الله بن جعفر وغيرهما²⁴

¹ P والحجل.

² B خاص.

³ P جا.

⁴ B التحجيل.

⁵ B الكثير.

⁶ B حواز.

⁷ B الكثير.

⁸ P om.

⁹ P فإذا.

¹⁰ B جار.

¹¹ B بعضه.

¹² B رد.

¹³ P علينا.

¹⁴ B om.

¹⁵ P انا انزلنا.

¹⁶ B ذكرنا.

¹⁷ B يتعلق.

¹⁸ B الكتاب.

¹⁹ P وبالسنة.

²⁰ B بالمنقول.

²¹ B فما P فيما.

²² B طالب.

²³ P عن.

²⁴ P adds من.

²⁵ P ابن.

كانوا مواظبين لأهل مكة على السماع إلى زماننا هذا
وأشار إلى وقت¹ أبي طالب نفسه وقد ذكر الماوردي²
في الحاوي الكبير كلاما معناه أن بعض الصحابة بلغه
أن عبد الله بن جعفر³ مكب⁴ على السماع مستغرق⁵ أوقاته
فيه فقال معاوية⁶ لعمر بن العاص⁷ قم بنا إليه فإنه غلب
هواه على شرفه فأتيا⁸ إليه وطرقا⁹ عليه الباب فأمر
جواريه¹⁰ بالسكوت وأذن لهما بالدخول فلما استقر¹¹ هو
بالجلوس فقال يا عبد الله مر هن¹² أن يرجعن¹³ إلى ما كن¹⁴
فيه فجعلن يغنين ومعاوية¹⁵ يحرك رأسه ويهز¹⁶ رجله
من فوق السرير فقال¹⁷ عمرو بن العاص¹⁸ إن من¹⁹
حيث تلجأه أحسن خلاصك²⁰ منه²¹ فقال صه يا عمرو
إن²² الكريم²³ لطروب وكان من كبار الصحابة وكاتب
وحي رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ومتابعة الصحابة

1 P وقته. 2 P إلى. 3 B جعفر. 4 Following C. B and P مكبا.

5 B وقال. 6 B مستغرقا. 7 C مستغرقا. 8 B وقال.

9 B om. 10 P ابن.

11 P رضي الله عنهم and adds العاصي. 12 P فأتيا.

13 P لرجعن. 14-14 B له. 15 P adds له.

16 B وهو يهز. 17 B السرير. 18 P adds له.

19 P بيت. 20 B خلاصك. 21 P adds يا معاوية.

22 P فانه. 23 B الكريم.

توجب¹ الاهتداء حيث² قال النبي³ صلى الله عليه
وسلم أصحابي⁴ كالنجوم بأيهم⁵ اقتديتم⁶ اهتديتم فمن
امتنع من الاقتداء بهم انتفى⁷ في حقّه الاهتداء
فإن قال المنكر على تقدير⁸ صحة هذا القول المنقول
عن الصحابة⁹ أنا أبايع¹⁰ بعض الصحابة في جميع الصور
إلا في السماع قلنا هذا لا يجدي¹¹ نفعا لأنه حيثن¹²
يكون حاله مع الصحابة كحال أبي لهب مع النبي
صلى الله عليه وسلم فإن له أن يقول أنا مؤمن بقولك
يا محمد ومن جملة¹³ قولك أنا لا أومن فأنا أصدقك¹⁴ في
هذا يقال له هذا لا ينفعك لأن الإيمان¹⁵ المعتبر هو الإيمان
بجميع¹⁷ ما أتى به النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم لا ببعضه¹⁸
فكذا¹⁹ حال من تابع²⁰ الصحابة²¹ في بعض الأحوال إلا في
السمع فإنه لا ينفعه

¹ P واجب رجب.

² P om.

³ B om.

⁴ B أصحابي.

⁵ B بأيهم.

⁶ B اقتديتم.

⁷ P من.

⁸ B تقدير.

⁹⁻⁹ P om.

¹⁰ أتابع (?). See above, l. 12.

¹¹ B يجدي.

¹² B حيثن، P حيثن.

¹³ B جملة، P جملة.

¹⁴ B أصدقك.

¹⁵ P إله.

¹⁶ B الإيمان.

¹⁷ B بجمع.

¹⁸ B ببعضها، P ببعضها.

C has a different reading بل عليه ان لا ينفذه (nay, it is his duty not to hate it). This reading can hardly be correct, but it has the correct suffix.

¹⁹ B فكذا.

²⁰ B adds بعض.

²¹ B الصحابة، P adds بعض الصحابة.

فإن قال المنكر إنَّ أبا حنيفة¹ أو الشيخ أبا البيان
حرَّم السماع فأنا² أتابعه³ في ذلك قلنا⁴ يلزمه أولاً حمل⁵
قول أبي حنيفة⁶ أنَّ ما⁷ ثبت لفظه المبارك به⁸ الشيخ
المذكور على سماع الملاهي المحرَّمة وسماع الفناء⁹ المضلَّ
الملهي لا على الفناء¹⁰ المطلق وإلا لزمه محذورات¹¹ أحدها
إمَّا الكفر أو الفسق¹² وذلك لأنَّ الأحاديث باعتبار وصولها
إلينا ثلاثة أنواع أحدها¹³ حديث متواتر الأصل متواتر الفرع
كحديث¹⁴ القرآن والصلوة والزكاة فجاحده كافر وثانيها
حديث آحاد¹⁵ الأصل مشهور الفرع كأحاديث¹⁶ البخاري
ومسلم¹⁷ فجاحده فاسق وثالثها حديث آحاد الأصل آحاد¹⁸
الفرع¹⁹ كحديث²⁰ أنا من الله والمؤمنون مني وغير ذلك²¹

فيهم المجتهد حجة وهذا : P has the following note in the margin :
الإمام فن يجوز تقليده لأنه من القرون المشهود فيهم بالخبر فقد قال صاحب الشرع
صلى الله عليه وسلم خير القرون قرني ثم الذين يلونهم [ثم] الذين يلونهم
(cf. Al-Bukhārī, *Shahādāt*, 9) ولا شك (لان) أن الإمام من القرون الذين
(MS. الذي) هو فيهم لان الإمام النعمان رضي الله عنه ولد سنة ٧٥ ومات
رحمه الله سنة ١٥٥ فهو أولى بالاتباع وقائل هذا الكلام متأخر (?) سنة ١٥٥

² P. فأنا.

³ P. أتابعه.

⁴ B. قلنا.

⁵ B om.

⁶ B adds رضي الله عنه.

⁷ B om.

⁸ B adds أو.

⁹ P. الغني.

¹⁰ P. الغني.

¹¹ P. المحذورات.

¹² P adds قطعاً.

¹³ P. أحدهما.

¹⁴ P. كأحاديث.

¹⁵ B. والزكاة، P.

¹⁶ P. أحادي.

¹⁷ P. كحديث.

¹⁸ P adds رضي الله عنهما.

¹⁹ P om.

²⁰ P. والفرع.

²¹ P om.

فلا شيء على جاحده¹ وما ذكرناه² من الأحاديث على
إباحة السماع وجواز سماع صوت الدفّ والغناء والأشعار آحاد³
الأصل مشهور الفرع فإن جحد⁴ هذه⁵ الأحاديث فسق وإن
رجح⁶ الرواية فيه⁷ عن أبي حنيفة⁸ أو غيره على قول النبي⁹
صلى الله عليه وسلم⁹ وفعله بأن يعتقد أن الرواية في
تحريم¹⁰ السماع مطلقا صحيحة صادقة وفعل النبي¹¹ صلى الله عليه
وسلم وقوله غير صحيح وغير¹² صادق¹³ كفر بالاتفاق¹⁴
وثانيتها أنه يلزمه¹⁵ الانحراف¹⁶ في البيان وذلك أنه
يثوّل¹⁷ كثيرا من الأخبار الصحيحة كقول النبي¹⁸ صلى
الله عليه وسلم للأعرابي¹⁹ حينما صلى غير متمّ ركوعه
وسجوده صل²⁰ فإنك²¹ لم تصل²² يقي²³ الشارع الصلوة
بالكليّة وهو يحمله²⁴ على الصلوة الناقصة وإنما تكون²⁵
ناقصة إن لو قال صل²⁶ وسكت وكذا قوله إذا بلغ²⁷ الماء
قلّتين²⁸ لم يحمل²⁹ خبثا يثوّل³⁰ بأنه لم يقو³¹ على حمل الخبث³²

¹ B جاحده.² B ذكرنا.³ P احاديث.⁴ B جحد.⁵ P هذا.⁶ B رجع.⁷ B فنيه.⁸ B adds الله عنه رضي.⁹⁻⁹ B om.¹⁰ B تحرم.¹¹ P او غير.¹² P adds فقد.¹³ B بالاتفاق.¹⁴ P يلزم.¹⁵ B adds الا.¹⁶ P يبول.¹⁷ P صلى.¹⁸ B فانك.¹⁹ P وقى.²⁰ P تحمله.²¹ B يكون.²²⁻²² P المقاتلين.²³ B تحمل.²⁴ P تقوى.²⁵ B الجبث.

وهو خروج¹ عن المفهوم نظيره إذا بلغ الماء بحرا عظيما
لم يحمل خبشا وكذا قال هاهنا على حاله فذلك مثله وإن
جعل تأويل² هذا كتأويل³ ذلك خالف الإجماع مطلقا⁴
وكذا قول النبي⁵ صَلَّى الله عليه وسلم⁶ كلّ نكاح⁷
لم يكن بولي⁸ وشاهدي عدل فهو سفاح سفاح
يثول في حق الصغيرة والأمة وقوله صَلَّى الله عليه وسلم⁹
الأيّم أحقّ بنفسها يثول في حق الحرة البالغة وغير ذلك
من الأحاديث فإذا جُوز¹⁰ تأويل الأحاديث النبوية بما¹¹
لا يوافق مجتهد آخر فتأويل¹² قول أبي حنيفة أو الرواية¹³
فيه إن ثبت بتحريم¹⁴ الغناء والسماع على سماع الفسق
والفجور بطريق الأولى

وثالثها أنّه يلزمه إخراج¹⁵ أبي حنيفة رضي الله عنه
من زمرة الأولياء وإدخاله في زمرة¹⁶ منكري أهل الحق
وذلك أنّ أولياء الله الكامل¹⁷ أصحاب المقامات سمعوا السماع

1 خروج B.

2 تأويل B.

3 التأويل P, كماويل B.

4 مطلقا B.

5-6 قوله B.

7 نكاح B.

8 بولي B.

9-10 عليه السلام B.

11 حررنا P.

12 ما B.

13 فتأويل B.

14 إلى B.

15 P adds رضي الله عنه.

16 بتحريم B.

17 إخراج B.

18 منه P.

19 الحمل P.

وتحرّكوا¹ فيه كما هو مذكور في سيرهم فلو قالوا² إنّ أبا حنيفة أنكر مطلق³ السماع كان ذلك إنكاراً⁴ على الأولياء وأبو حنيفة من الأولياء والوليّ لا ينكر على وليّ آخر مثله وإلا لكان⁶ منكراً⁷ على نفسه والمنكر على نفسه مستكمل⁸ لا كامل⁸ والمجتهد كامل فإذا⁹ لو ثبت قول أبي حنيفة بتحريم السماع كان ذلك¹⁰ مثولاً¹⁰ بسماع¹⁰ الملاهي والفسق والفجور والكذب ولا نزاع في ذلك بين الكلّ

ورابعها [أنه]¹¹ يلزمه ترك ما اشترط في صحّته العدالة واختيار ما لا يشترط فيه ذلك لأنّ أخذ الفقه من كتب الفقه لا يشترط في كتبه¹² الفقه عدالة¹³ الكاتب ولا عدالة الراوي فجاز أن الكاتب في النسخة¹⁴ الأولى¹⁵ أو الثانية¹⁵ زاد شيئاً أو نقص شيئاً¹⁶ فإذا لا يعتمد على ذلك حزماً¹⁷ بخلاف الأحاديث النبوية¹⁸ فإنه¹⁹ اشترط في صحّة

¹ P وتحركوا.

² P adds قال.

³ P مطلقاً.

⁴ B انكاراً، P انكار.

⁵ P om.

⁶ B لان.

⁷ B منكراً، P منكر.

⁸⁻⁸ P الاكمال.

⁹ B فاذن.

¹⁰⁻¹⁰ P من اسماع.

¹¹ B and P om.

¹² P كتب.

¹³ P العدالة.

¹⁴ B النسخة.

¹⁵⁻¹⁵ P الثانية، B والثانية.

¹⁶ P om.

¹⁷ P محرماً.

¹⁸ B النبوة.

¹⁹ P فاذن ترك قولاً.

روايتها¹ العدالة² ومن ترك قولاً اشترط في صحته
العدالة² واختار قولاً لم يشترط في صحته³ العدالة كان
سفياً إذ⁴ السفيه هو من لا يختار⁵ الأصلح⁶ لدينه ودنياه
ولا يلتفت إلى قول السفيه

فإن قال المنكر إن⁷ هذه الأحاديث الواردة فيه
آحاد⁸ لا توجب⁹ القطع فلا نعمل¹⁰ بها¹¹ قلنا¹² يلزمك أن
لا تعمل بحديث من الآحاد¹³ التي استدلوا بها في تصحيح¹⁴
أحكام الفقه من الآحاد¹⁵ فإذا¹⁶ لم يعملوا¹⁷ بهذه¹⁸
الأحاديث التي ذكرناها¹⁹ لزمهم²⁰ أن لا يعملوا بأحاديث
الآحاد في الفقه وحينئذ تبطل عليهم أحكام الفقه بأسرها
واستدلوا بقوله [تعالى]²¹ وما كان صلوتهم عند البيت
إلا مكاءً وتصدية والمكاء الصفير والتصدية هي ضرب
إحدى²² الراحتين بالأخرى²³ يخرج²⁴ منهما صوت قلنا هذا

¹ روايته B. P. فإله.

²⁻³ P om.

³ P صحة and adds قابل.

⁴ إذا P.

⁵ P يختاره.

⁶ P الأصلح. ⁷ P repeats. ⁸ P أحاديث.

⁹ B يوجب.

¹⁰ P يعمل.

¹¹ B هـ.

¹² P adds له.

¹³ P في اثبات مسائل الفقه B adds الاحاديث.

¹⁴ B صحيح P تصحيح.

¹⁵⁻¹⁶ P om.

¹⁶ P فإن. ¹⁷ B عملوا.

¹⁸ B بهذه.

¹⁹ B ذكرنا and adds قبله.

²⁰ B كلهم.

²¹ B and P om.

²² P احد.

²³ B بالآخرى.

²⁴ B يخرج.

استدلال¹ غير موافق² لأنه³ منهم عن المكاء والتصديّة
عند البيت ولا يلزم من منع شيء في حالة محرمة منه في
مقامات تباین⁴ ذلك المحلّ ولهذا يجوز⁵ للمرأة⁵ في الصلوة⁵
ضرب الراحة على ظهر كفّها إذا نابها شيء، ولا يجوز في
غير هذه الحالة⁶ ولما كان البيت معظماً والطواف حوله⁶
صلوة⁷ منهم عن ذلك وايضاً⁸ قال وما كان صلوتهم⁹
وما¹⁰ قال وما كان سماعهم¹¹ فاذا¹² لا يجوز من منع التصديّة
حول البيت منه في سائر المواضع

واستدلّوا¹³ ايضاً بقوله تعالى¹³ ومن الناس من
يشترى¹⁴ لهو الحديث ليضلّ¹⁵ عن سبيل الله بغير علم¹⁵
ولهو الحديث هو الغناء قلنا يفهم من قوله لهو الحديث
أنّه¹⁶ يجوز سماع حقّ الحديث سواء كان قرآناً أو شعراً أو
غير ذلك وقد ذكرنا أحاديث صحيحة¹⁷ على جواز سماع
صوت¹⁸ الدفّ والغناء والشعر وقد ورد إن من الشعر

يجوز P. 4. تباین B. 5. فانه P. 6. فاسد P. 7. غير موافق B. 1-2.

ايضاً B. 8. صلاة P. 9. غيرها P. 10-11. عند البيت P. 12.

فاذن B. 13. بقوله ايضاً B. 14-15. يشترى B. 16.

ان P. 17. B. 18. om. 15-16 P. 18.

لحكمة فدلّ هذا النصّ¹ على أنّ لهو الحديث مختصّ
 بسماع المضلّ الملهي عن الحقّ والعبادة وما يبعد العبد
 عن الله تعالى فما لم يكن كذلك³ فهو باق على الإباحة
 وأيضا إذا ورد نصّ يفيد⁴ العموم وجب أولا طلب
 المخصّص⁵ فإن وجد فذلك وإلا يحمل⁶ على العموم كما
 ورد في الخبر أحثّوا في وجوه المدّاحين التراب ثمّ ورد
 أنّه مدح النبيّ⁸ صلى الله عليه وسلّم وأثنى⁹ عليه ومنه
 قول¹⁰ كعب بن زهير رضي الله عنه¹¹ بيت¹²

بانت سعاد قلبي اليوم متبول

متيمّ أثرها لم يفد¹³ مكبول

إلى أن وصل قراءة إلى قوله

[نبئت]¹⁴ أنّ رسول [الله]¹⁵ أوعدني

والعفو عند رسول الله مأمول

¹ P had first الحديث and scored it out, but evidently began to write the word over again. The text stands thus: والحد والنص.

² P وما. ³ P ذلك. ⁴ P فعيل. ⁵ P المخصوص. ⁶ P فيحمل.

⁷ B وجه. ⁸ B om. ⁹ B واثاب. ¹⁰ B om. ¹¹⁻¹² B om.

¹³ P om. At this point B has a long omission which would amount to a complete folio. Parts of the matter omitted by B are included in C.

¹³⁻¹⁵ Nöldeke, *Delectus*, عندها لم يحجز.

¹⁴ Following Nöl. P om.

¹⁵ Following Nöl. P om.

فَأُلْقِيَ إِلَيْهِ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ بِرَدِّهِ فَوَجِبَ
حَمْلُ قَوْلِهِ أَحْثُوا فِي وُجُوهِ الْمَدَاحِينَ التَّرَابَ عَلَى مَدْحِ
الْكَذِبِ وَالْفُسْقِ وَلِلْفُسَاقِ فَهَكَذَا هُنَا وَجِبَ حَمْلُ لَهُوَ
الْحَدِيثِ عَلَى الْكَذِبِ وَالْفُسْقِ وَالْمَلَاهِي وَمَا لَمْ يَكُنْ كَذَلِكَ
فَهُوَ جَائِزٌ قَطْعًا

¹ فَإِنْ قَالَ الْمُنْكَرُ سَمَاعُ الْفُقَرَاءِ مَبَاحٌ بِمَا ذَكَرْتُمْ مِنْ
الشَّرَائِطِ وَسَمَاعُ الْعَوَامِّ حَرَامٌ قُلْنَا ^{2 1} لَا يَحِلُّ لِأَحَدٍ أَنْ يَحْلَلَ
وَيُحَرِّمَ فِي الشَّرْعِ مَا لَمْ يَنْصَ الشَّارِعُ عَلَيْهِ لَمَّا وَرَدَ فِي الْخَبَرِ
الْحَلَالُ بَيْنَ وَالْحَرَامِ بَيْنَ وَبَيْنَهُمَا أُمُورٌ مُشْتَبِهَاتٌ وَقَالَ ³
اللَّهُ تَعَالَى وَلَا تَقُولُوا ⁵ لَمَّا تَصِفُ أَلْسِنَتُكُمُ الْكَذِبَ هَذَا
حَلَالٌ وَهَذَا حَرَامٌ لَتَفْتَرُوا عَلَى اللَّهِ الْكَذِبَ فَمَنْ قَالَ إِنَّ
السَّمَاعَ حَرَامٌ مُطْلَقًا فَقَدْ حَرَّمَ فِي الشَّرْعِ ⁷ مَا لَمْ يَرِدِ النَّصُّ
بِهِ ⁷ إِذْ لَمْ يَرِدْ فِي كِتَابِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى ⁸ وَلَا فِي سُنَّةِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ

¹⁻¹ فان قال سماع العوام حرام وسماع الفقراء واهل المواجد مباح قلنا C
After this point it goes on to different matter. This is on F. 7a.

²⁻³ On F. 6a C has وبينهما بين والحرام بين وبينهما امور مشتبهات فاذا لا يحل لاحد ان يحرم السماع ويحلل بافي الشرع ما لم
P has متشابهات. Al-Tirmidhi, Buyū' 1, and Abū Dāwud, Buyū' 3, have مشتبهات.

⁵ C om. ⁶ P تقولو. ⁷ C قال.

⁷⁻⁷ C adds وجل. ⁸ C om. حكما براه من غير نص معتقدا ذلك كفر.

⁹⁻⁹ C سلم. P om. رسول الله عليه الصلاة والسلام.

صَلَّى الله عليه وسلَّم^{1 9} ولا في كلام الصحابة رضي الله
 عنهم^{2 1} نصّ بتحريم السماع والرقص² ومن حرّم في
 الشرع ما ليس فيه افترى على الله شيئا ومن افترى
 على الله شيئا كفر بالإجماع³ وأيضا إنّ سماع العوام³
 ورقصهم تشبيهه تفرجاتهم في البساتين سماع الحبشة
 ورقصهم بين يدي رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلَّم ولا
 خلاف في إباحة ذلك فكذلك حرّكاتهم في السماع³
 وأيضا في الخبر من تشبّه بقوم فهو منهم وأصحاب الحق³
 المحض فرطوا الناس به وأولياء الله تعالى كالجنيد⁴ وغيره
 رضي الله عنهم تحرّكوا⁵ في السماع كما هو منقول عنهم
 في رسالة القشيري وغيرها من الكتب فإن تحرّك عامّي³
 في السماع تشبّها بهم طالبا من تركاتهم كان مثلهم وقد
 ورد في الخبر إنّ هؤلاء القوم لا⁶ يشقى بهم جليسهم

¹⁻¹ P om.

²⁻² C اصلا ٢١٤، ما يدل على تحريم السماع اصلا ٢١٤، after which C goes on to matter which has occurred already (p. 147 f.).

³⁻³ C, continuing from end of p. 150, n. 1, has سماع العوام وتواجدهم على الصوت الموزون سماع بل يشبه سماع الحبشة بين يدي رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلَّم ورقصهم ولا شيء ورد على الامتناع فبقي على الاباحة فاذا سماع العوام كتفرجاتهم في البساتين ولا خلاف في اباحة ذلك فسماعهم خلاف في. P om. مثلها.

⁴ كالجنيد P.

⁵ تحرّكو P.

⁶ P om.

فإن قال المذكر¹ إذا² تواجد³ شخص في السماع على
 محبة إنسان أو على صورته³ كان حراماً⁴ قلنا قد ورد في
 الخبر⁵ والذي نفسي بيده لا تدخلون⁶ الجنة حتى
 تؤمنوا ولا تؤمنوا حتى تحابوا⁷ أولا أدلكم على شيء
 إذا فعلتموه تحاببتم افشوا السلام بينكم وفي رواية تهادوا
 وفي الخبر أيضاً⁵ ينادي الله تعالى يوم القيامة⁷ أين المتحابون
 لجلالي لهم منابر⁹ من نور فيغبطهم¹⁰ النبيون والشهداء¹¹
 فإذا¹² تحاب¹³ شخصان لله¹⁴ تعالى وتحرك¹⁵ أحدهما¹⁶ على
 محبة الآخر¹⁷ لله تعالى¹⁷ كان ذلك مباحاً¹⁸ إذ لم يعترف
 بالباطل¹⁸

فإن قال المذكر لا يتحرك العامي إلا باللعب¹⁹
 والباطل ومثل هذا اللعب حرام قلنا ورد في الخبر¹⁹ إذا

¹ C om. ² C لو. ³⁻³ C محبة أو على شخص أو على محبة. ⁴ C adds له.

الحدث على التحاب [التحاب] في الله عز وجل حيث قال عليه الصلاة والسلام ⁵⁻⁵ C.

⁶ Al-Tirmidhi, *Isti'dhān*, 1; Ibn Māja, *Adab*, 11, تدخلوا; Muslim,

منابر ⁹ P adds. فينصب ⁸ P adds. فيقول ⁷ C adds. تدخلون ¹⁰ i, 143.

وهذا الحديث في جامع الاصول ¹¹ C adds. نعمطيهم ¹⁰ P.

وتواجد ¹⁶ C. في الله ¹⁴ C. تحايا ¹³ P. وإذا ¹² C.

إد. ¹⁸⁻¹⁸ C om. ¹⁷⁻¹⁷ C om. ¹⁶ P احدهما.

وأما التواجد على الهوى والشهوة فلا يطلع على أخيك [MS. خنك] أحد ¹⁹⁻¹⁹ C.
 إلا الله عز وجل فإذا وجد [MS. وجد] شخص عامي متواجد ولم يعرف هو
 باطل وجب حمله على أحسن الأقوال لما لم يظهر منه ما يخالف الشرع عملاً
 لقوله صلى الله عليه وسلم

برز¹ من أخيك كلام² فلا تحمله على محمل السوء
 وأنت³ تجد له محملا حسنا⁴ فإذا رأينا مؤمنا موحدًا عاميًا
 كان أو غيره متحررًا في السماع ولم يعترف بالباطل وجب
 حمل⁵ فعله على الحق⁶ فإن⁷ كان المظنون⁸ كما ظن⁹ فذاك وإلا
 فأمر اعتقاده إلى الله تعالى لا إلى الناظر إليه¹⁰ وأيضا لما¹¹
 تحررت¹² المذاهب واختار كل مجتهد ما غلب على ظنه بعد
 نظره في النصوص. وتبع كل مجتهد¹³ قوم فلا يليق لأحد
 أن يحظي¹⁴ أحدا أصلا فعلى هذا السماع مباح¹⁵ عند
 الشافعية مطلقا فلا لوم على من يفعله¹⁶ من متابعيه¹⁷ كما¹⁸
 أن الزاني بالمرأة المستأجرة يسقط¹⁹ عنه²⁰ الحد²¹ عند أبي
 حنيفة²² فلا لوم لمن يفعل ذلك من متابعيه ولكن لو علم
 به الحاكم الشافعي²³ حده ولم يلتفت إلى اجتهاده لورود
 الكتاب²⁴ بذلك حيث قال²⁵ الله تعالى²⁶ الزانية والزاني²⁷
 فاجلدوا²⁸ كل واحد منهما مائة جلدة²⁹ ولا يعارض النص³⁰

¹ C بدا.² P كلاما.³ P وان.⁴ C branches off at this point.⁵ B resumes here.⁶ P وان.⁷ P adds به.⁸ B om.⁹ P كما.¹⁰ P تحررت.¹¹ B مجتهد.¹² B يحظى.¹³ P يجوز.¹⁴ B يفعل.¹⁵ B متابعيه, P متابعتهم.¹⁶ P الساحرة.¹⁷ P يسقط.¹⁸ P عند.¹⁹ P adds رضي الله عنه.²⁰ B الكتاب.²¹ P om.²²⁻²³ B om.²⁴⁻²⁵ B الزاني والزانية.²⁶⁻²⁷ B om.

إِلَّا مثله وليس للحنفي نصّ على تحريمه¹ لا من الكتاب²
ولا من السنّة ولا من إجماع الأئمّة فإنكارهم على ذلك
إنكار³ على الشارع كما قرّرناه⁴ وكذا في سائر المذاهب
فإن قال المذكر سلّمنا جواز ضرب الدفّ⁶ من غير
الصنوج فإنّ دفّ العرب⁷ كان كذلك ولكن لا نسلم⁸
جواز ضرب الدفّ بالصنوج قلنا قد ثبت بما ذكرنا من
الأحاديث جواز ضرب الدفّ من غير الصنوج¹⁰ ولم يرد¹¹
في الصنوج شيء لا بالتحريم¹³ ولا بالكراهية فبقي على
الإباحة فإن انضمّ¹⁴ مباح لم يسمع إلى مباح يسمع صار
الكلّ مباحا إن لم تدلّ¹⁶ قرينة على الجمع بينهما¹⁹
بالتحريم كزواج الأختين فإنّ زواج كلّ واحدة منهما²⁰
على الانفراد²¹ مباح والجمع بينهما حرام
وأما القصب الفارسي فلم يرد فيه شيء فبقي²² على
الإباحة وأما المزمار²³ فمنهيّ عن سماعه لما ورد في الخبر

¹ B تحريم.² الكتاب. B³ انكار. B⁴ P قدرناه.⁵ B om.⁶⁻⁸ P الضرب بالدف.⁷ P العرف.⁸ B سلم.⁹⁻⁹ P om.¹⁰ B, P الصنوج.¹¹ B رد, P ير.¹² B الصنوج.¹³ B بالتحريم.¹⁴ P adds إلى.¹⁵ P adds إلا.¹⁶ P om.¹⁷ B يدل.¹⁸ P adds المنع من.¹⁹ B بينهما.²⁰ B كجواز.²¹ P انفرادها.²² P فهو باق.²³⁻²³ P فحرم لانه.

أَنَّهُ ¹صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ ¹سَمِعَ صَوْتَ الْمَزْمَارِ فَسَدَ
أُذُنُهُ

وَأَيْضًا يَلْزِمُ لِمَنْكَرُ ²الرَّقْصِ وَالسَّمَاعِ وَضَرْبِ الدَفِّ
وَسَمَاعِ الْغَنَاءِ مُحَارَبَةُ ³اللَّهِ تَعَالَى وَمَنْ حَارَبَ اللَّهَ تَعَالَى
كَفَرَ بِالِاتِّفَاقِ ⁴وَذَلِكَ أَنَّهُ ⁴وَرَدَ فِي الْخَبَرِ الصَّحِيحِ مِنْ
عَادِي لِي ⁵وَلِيَّا فَقَدْ ⁶بَارَزَنِي بِالْمُحَارَبَةِ ⁷وَلَا خِلَافَ بَيْنَ
الْمُجْتَهِدِينَ ⁸فِي وَجْدَانِ الْأَوْلِيَاءِ بَيْنَهُمْ وَاتَّفَقَ ¹⁰أَهْلُ جَمِيعِ
الْأَعْصَارِ ¹⁰عَلَى صِحَّةِ وَلَايَةِ الْجَنِيدِ وَالشُّبَلِيِّ وَمَعْرُوفِ
الْكَرْخِيِّ وَعَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ خَفِيفٍ ¹¹وغيرهم مَمَّنْ هُمْ مَذْكُورِينَ
فِي تَذَكُّرَةِ ¹²الْأَوْلِيَاءِ وَغَيْرِ ذَلِكَ وَقَدْ صَحَّ ¹⁴عَنْهُمْ فِي
سَيْرِهِمْ ¹⁵أَنَّهُمْ تَوَاجَدُوا فِي السَّمَاعِ وَرَقَصُوا لِنَقْضِ مَا ¹⁶
سِوَى اللَّهِ عَنْ قُلُوبِهِمْ ¹⁷فَمَنْ حَرَّمَ السَّمَاعَ مُطْلَقًا فَكَأَنَّهُ ¹⁹
قَالَ إِنَّ هَؤُلَاءِ الْأَوْلِيَاءِ فَعَلُوا حَرَامًا وَمَنْ نَسَبَهُمْ إِلَى

جواز P adds المنكر، المنكر B ². عليه السلام B ¹⁻¹.
المحاربة P ⁷. فقد B ⁶. عاد إلي P ⁵⁻⁵. ولذلك P ⁴⁻⁴. محاربة B ³.
أهل جميع الأعصار B، جميع أهل الأعصار P ¹⁰⁻¹⁰. من P ⁹. المجتهدين B ⁸.
وتذكرة P ¹³. رسالة القشيري P adds ¹². الحنيف P ¹¹.
سهرهم B ¹⁵. صحت B ¹⁴.
لبعض P not clear. Looks like بعض B ¹⁶.
مطلقاً B ¹⁸. قلوبهم B ¹⁷. فكأنه B ¹⁹.

مباشرة فعل¹ الحرام عا²دام قولاً³ واعتقاداً ومن عا⁴دام
 بارز الحق⁵ تعالى⁶ ومن بارز⁷ الحق⁸ تعالى⁹ كفر بالاتفاق¹⁰
 فقد¹¹ باء¹² بغضب من الله وما¹³وه¹⁴ جهنم¹⁵ وبئس¹⁶ المصير¹⁷
 فإذا ثبت مما ذكرناه¹⁸ من التقريرات¹⁹ والدلائل²⁰
 والأحاديث أن السماع مباح مطلقاً وأن منكره إما²¹
 كافر²² أو فاسق²³ وهذا أشد²⁴ استحباباً في حق²⁵ المرادين²⁶
 واجب²⁷ في حق²⁸ أولياء²⁹ الله تعالى³⁰ بالنسبة³¹ إلى مقاماتهم³²
 لأنهم المجردون عما سوى³³ الله إلى الله تعالى³⁴ قال الله³⁵
 تعالى³⁶ يريدون وجهه³⁷ فكلما³⁸ وجدوا³⁹ شيئاً من الصور⁴⁰
 حملوه على المعاني الغيبية⁴¹ كما قال⁴² صلى الله عليه وسلم⁴³
 في حق⁴⁴ أسيد بن الحضير⁴⁵ حين قال⁴⁶ يا رسول الله⁴⁷ كنت⁴⁸

¹ B الفعل.² P adds وفلا.³ P adds بالمحاربة.⁴ B بارز.⁵ B بالاتفاق.⁶⁻⁸ B وبا، P وباءوا.⁷ B, C وماواه. P وماواهم. Only C quotes Qur. viii, 16, accurately.⁸ B ذكرنا.⁹ B, P التقريرات.¹⁰ P كافرأ. ¹¹ P فاسقأ.¹² Following C. B أكد. P وهو كذا صابر.¹³ B واجب.¹⁴ B اوليا.¹⁵ B بالنسبة.¹⁶ B سوى.¹⁷ B om. P adds كما.¹⁸ P adds في حقهم.¹⁹⁻²⁰ B يريدون وجهه. P يريدون وجه الله.²¹ B وكلما. P وكل ما.²² P قصدوا.²³ P adds رسول الله.²⁴⁻²⁵ B عليه السلام.²⁶⁻²⁷ B أسيد بن حنين. P أسيد بن حضير.²⁸⁻²⁹ B رسول. P رسول.³⁰ P adds صلى الله عليه وسلم.

أقرأ¹ البارحة سورة الكهف فإذا فوق رأسي سحابة فيها
 مثل المصاييح قال² تلك³ السكينة ولم يجعل السحابة على
 حالها والسكينة فعية⁴ من السكون⁵ وهو الاطمئنان
 إلى أنوار عالم الغيب الواردة عليه⁵ بسبب⁶ تردده
 ومروره⁷ على صورها⁸ وهي ألفاظ القرآن فكذلك
 أولياء الله تعالى⁹ يحملون الصور على المعاني لتركهم
 مراتب الصور وسيرهم في¹⁰ مراتب المعارف¹⁰ فالدفع¹⁰
 عندهم إشارة إلى دائرة الأكوان¹¹ والجلد الراكب عليه¹¹
 إشارة¹² إلى الوجود المطلق والضرب الوارد على الدفع¹²
 إشارة إلى ورود الواردات الإلهية من باطن البطون على
 الوجود المطاق لإخراج الأشياء الذاتية من الباطن إلى
 الظاهر والجلال الخمسة إشارة إلى المراتب النبوية¹³
 والمراتب الولائية والمراتب الرسالية والمراتب الخلافة¹⁴
 والمراتب الإمامية وصوتها¹⁵ مجموعاً إشارة إلى ظهور
 التجليات¹⁶ الإلهية¹⁷ والعلم المطلق بواسطة¹⁸ هذه المعاني

¹ B اقرأ.² P adds عليه السلام.³ B تلك.⁴ فعله B.⁵⁻⁶ P om.⁶ P لسبب.⁷ P وترده.⁸ P ضوئها.⁹ B om.¹⁰⁻¹⁰ B المعاني.¹¹⁻¹¹ P والجلدة الراكبة عليها.¹² P om.¹³ B النبوة.¹⁴ P الخلافة.¹⁵ B وصوتها.¹⁶ B الحيو.¹⁷ P الالهيات.¹⁸ B بواسطة.

في قلوب الأولياء وأهل الكمال ونفس¹ المعنى صورة
 رتبة¹ الحق تعالى وتقدس² إذ³ هو محرك الأشياء وموجدوها
 ومقنيها⁴ وصوت المغني إشارة إلى الحياة الربانية الواردة⁵
 من باطن⁶ البطون إلى مراتب الأرواح والقلوب والأسرار
 والقصب إشارة إلى الذات الإنسانية والأثقاب التسعة⁷
 إشارة إلى منافذه⁸ في الظاهر وهي تسعة الأذنان⁹ والمنخران¹⁰
 والعينان¹¹ والفم والقبل والدبر وتسعة أثقاب أخرى¹² مقلوبة
 من الظاهر¹³ إلى الباطن وهي الإبطان¹⁴ وبطن المرققين وتحت
 الركبتين¹⁴ وبطن الكوعين والسرة وتسع مراتب في
 الباطن وهي القلب والعقل والروح والنفس والسر
 والجوهر الإنساني¹⁵ واللطفية الذاكرة والفؤاد¹⁶ والشغاف¹⁶
 والنفس النافذ¹⁷ في القصب إشارة إلى نفوذ¹⁸ نور الله
 تعالى¹⁹ في قصب ذات الإنسان²⁰ وتحركهم في السماع

1- الصورة إلى رتب P

2 P om.

3 كما P

4 ومنشئها P

5 الرانته B

6 باطن B

7 السعة B

8 منافذه P

9 العينان P

10 والمنخران B

11 P

12 والمنخران P

13 B, P

14 الظاهر B

14-16 واليدان وتحت الركبتين وبطن المرققين P

16 P

16 الشغاف P, والشغاف C. Following

17 P

18 نفوذ P

19 B om.

20 B

إشارة إلى تذكّر¹ طير الحقيقة الإنسانية² في
مقام² الخطاب³ الأزلي⁴ أُلست بربّكم⁵ واضطراب
الروح لكسر قفص الجسم ورجوعه⁶ إلى الوطن
الحقيقي حيث قال حبّ الوطن من الإيمان⁷ أي وطن⁷
الأرواح الذي أوجد الروح فيه⁸ حيث⁹ قال ونفخت فيه
من روحي والرقص إشارة¹⁰ إلى جولان الروح حول
دائرة الموجودات لقبول آثار التجليات¹² والتنزيلات¹³
وهذا حال المعارف والقتل¹⁴ إشارة إلى وقوف¹⁵ الروح
مع الله بسرّه ووجوده وجولان نظره وفكره ونفوذه¹⁶ في
مراتب الموجودات وهذا¹⁷ حال المحقّق فطفره¹⁸ إلى
فوق¹⁸ إشارة إلى أنجذابه¹⁹ من المقام الإنساني إلى المقام
الأحمدي واكتساب²⁰ الكائنات منه آثارا روحانيّة
وأمدادا نورانيّة فإذا خرج²¹ روحه عن الحجاب ووصل

¹ P تذكّارهم.

²⁻² B om.

³ B خطاب.

⁴ B om. P adds في وقت.

⁵ B بركم.

⁶ B ورجوعه.

⁷⁻⁷ P repeats.

⁸ P منه.

⁹ P كما.

¹⁰ P om.

¹¹ P الموجودات.

¹² B التجليات.

¹³ B والتنزيلات.

¹⁴ P والفعل.

¹⁵ P adds سر.

¹⁶ B نفوذه. P يقوده.

¹⁷ B وهذا.

¹⁸⁻¹⁸ P وطرق الدفوف.

¹⁹ P أنجذابه.

²⁰ P واكتسابه : بواسطة adds.

²¹ B خرج.

إلى مراتب الصواب كشف رأسه فإذا تجرّد عن ما
سوى الله¹ واتّصل إلى الله تعالى² خلع ثيابه فان كان
المغني صاحب حال ومقام ألقى³ إليه⁴ ثيابه وإن لم يكن
كذلك⁵ فاللقاء⁶ إليه ظلم لأنّ ثوب⁷ صاحب الحال⁸ صورة
حاله ولا يستحقّ قبول حاله إلا من هو في رتبته وإن⁹
ارتقى إلى مقام علويّ والمغني يتكلّم في مقام سفليّ ألقى¹⁰
إليه بيتاً¹¹ مناسباً لحاله فإن أشكل عليه أمر¹² غنى عنه¹³
ووقف حاله عليه أخذ غيره وجمال معه ليجتمع¹⁴ حاله
بحاله¹⁵ وتنحلّ عقده فتى¹⁶ عطش وطلب شرب الماء دلّ¹⁷
على أنّه يقهر لأنّ مقام الروح مقام الصفاء وعداوة¹⁸
من الأنوار فإذا عطش دلّ على¹⁹ أنّه رجع إلى مقام²⁰
الجسد إذ مقام الروح²¹ التغذي²² بالغيب فلا يحتاج إلى²³

¹ P adds تعالى.

² B om.

³ B القا.

⁴ P عليه.

⁵ B om.

⁶ B صوب.

⁷ P adds صورة الحال.

⁸ P فان.

⁹ B القا.

¹⁰ P شيتاً.

¹¹⁻¹² B غيبي.

¹³ B وحال.

¹⁴ B ليجتمع.

¹⁴ B بحاله.

¹⁵ P وتنجلي.

¹⁶ B فتى.

¹⁷⁻¹⁸ B om., P وعداوة.

¹⁸⁻¹⁹ B om.

¹⁹ P om.

²⁰⁻²¹ P ومقام.

²¹ P adds الروح.

²² P التغذي.

²³ P ولا.

الظاهر ومقام الجسد التغذي¹ بالصورة فعند رجوعه³ من
الغيب إلى الشهادة يطلب الماء وذلك يدل⁴ على النقص
وأما المعنى المعقول الدالّ على شرف السماع⁵ فوجوده
التناقض من⁵ وجوه أحدها⁶ أن الأحوال اللاحقة للشيء
قسمان حركة وسكون فالحركة صفة الأرواح⁷ والأسرار
والسكون⁷ صفة الأجساد والصور الكثيفة والحرارة
والتلطيف من لوازم الحركة والجمود والتغير⁸ من لوازم
السكون ولهذا لو بقي⁹ الماء في جرّته¹⁰ ولو كان¹¹ كثيرا
لتغير بمرور الزمان وإن كان جاريا¹² قليلا لم يتغير فإذا أثر¹³
الصوت الموزون في الباطن حرّك¹⁴ الروح إلى طلب¹⁵
الارتقاء فتحرك¹⁷ الجسد بحركة الروح فيحصل في وجوده
حرارة¹⁸ فتتحلّ فضلات¹⁸ وجوده ويظهر في قلبه آثار¹⁶
مشهودة¹⁹ وذلك بفعل²⁰ السماع
وثانيها أن²¹ الغذاء الحسّي²² يقوّي الجسد وحصول

¹ B التغذي.² P adds ذلك.³ B رجوعه. P رجوعه.⁴ P دليله. ⁵⁻⁵ B om.⁶ P أحدها.⁷⁻⁷ P الأسرار والسكون.⁸ B والتغير. P والتغير.⁹ B بقي.¹⁰ B حوّة.¹¹ P كانت.¹² B جاريا. ¹³ P نزل.¹⁴ P حركة.¹⁵ P أي.¹⁶ B طلب. ¹⁷ B وتحرك.¹⁸⁻¹⁸ P حركة ساكن.¹⁹ P مشهورة. ²⁰ P فعل.²¹ P om.²²⁻²² P الحسّي الغدي.

ذلك بمباشرة الغذاء¹ والغذاء² الروحيّ يقوّي القلب والسرّ
 وذلك بمباشرة آلات³ استنزال⁴ الروح⁵ والنور والحياة⁶
 من العالم الغيبيّ وهو تحريك الروح بسماع المعاني الغريبة⁷
 من الأشعار الرقيقة وترك التعلّقات الكونيّة
 والانجذاب⁸ إلى المنازل الروحانيّة وآلة⁹ حصول هذه
 الأنوار⁹ اجتماع الإخوان وطلب المدد من الله الرحمن¹⁰
 وثالثهما أنّ السماع يجرّد¹¹ الشخص عن الأمور
 الظاهرة ويميله إلى قبول الأنوار والأسرار الباطنة
 فكلّما¹² زاد وجدّه في السماع زاد سيره وطيره في عالم
 الأرواح وعند كثرة ازدياده¹³ يرقّ قلبه¹⁴ ويقبل¹⁵ من
 آثار فيض الله تعالى وتجليّاته فيحصل¹⁶ له مقام الوصول
 من غير رياضة¹⁷ جديدة¹⁸

ورابعها¹⁹ أنّ الصوت هو²⁰ نافذ²¹ من الظاهر إلى
 الباطن ويتّصل بالقلب²² فينبسط القلب والروح بواسطة

¹ P om., B الغذاء.

² P الغذاء.

³ P adds والغدا.

⁴ P والات.

⁵ P واستنزال.

⁶ B om.

⁷ B الغريبة.

⁸ P والانجذاب.

⁹⁻⁹ P حضوره هذه الانواع.

¹⁰ B الرحمن.

¹¹ B مجرد.

¹² B وكلما.

¹³ P ازدياد.

¹⁴ P رق.

¹⁵ B يقبل. P ويقبل.

¹⁶ B ويحصل.

¹⁷ B رياضة.

¹⁸ B حدية.

¹⁹ P رابعها.

²⁰ P adds بادي.

²¹ P نافذ.

²² P في القلب.

اختلاف النفثات الموزونة وبعده¹ المعاني الواردة على
الروح في مراتب الموجودات² فإذا اتبع الروح الجسد
في الحركة وتبع الجسد الروح في الحضور والنور والسرور
تجرد³ عن التوهّمات والتخيّلات فتنفذ⁴ في القوى
الجسديّة المعاني المتّصلة⁵ في الروح فينجذب⁶ الجسد إلى
مقام الروح ويرتفع الحجاب فيشاهد⁷ تلك المعاني
والحقائق دفعة وهذا مقام الكمال العيانيّ الذي لا
يحصل بكثير⁸ من⁹ الرياضات

وخامسها أن السماع سكون¹⁰ في الباطن وحركة في
الظاهر¹¹ وما سواه من العبادات غير الصوم حركة في
الظاهر والحركة في الظاهر تناسب الكثرة فكلّما¹²
كثرت الحركة في السماع وقوي السكون في القلب¹³
تجرد عما سوى الله تعالى¹⁴ فظهر فيه الوجد وانجذب¹⁵

¹ P وتعدد.² P adds والقلب.³ P تجرد.⁴ B فتنفذ. P فتنفذ.⁵ B المتّصلة.⁶ P فينجذب.⁷ B فيشاهد.⁸ B مكثير.⁹ P adds انواع.¹⁰ B wrote first مكتوب and blurred the word somewhat in changing it into سكون.¹¹ B والظاهر and adds الحركة في الظاهر.¹² B وكلما. P فلما.¹³ B orn.¹⁴ B, P ظهر.¹⁵ P وانجذب.

إلى الجنب الأحدثي فيشاهد بنظر السرّ العوالم¹
الإلهيّة² ويدرك أسراراً ربّانيّة³ لا يحيط بها⁴
العقول والأفهام وأمّا الأركان الثلاثة كالصلوة والحجّ
والشهادتين فإنّها وإن كانت حركة في الظاهر⁵ والباطن
ولكن قد يظهر من⁶ بين الحركتين سكون روحيّ
وجهي⁷ يؤدّي صاحبه إلى الفناء والبقاء وأمّا الصوم
فإنّه سكون في الظاهر⁸ والباطن وقد يخرج⁹ من بين
السكونين حركة من الله بالله¹⁰ لله وذلك هو الإطلاق
التام¹¹ والحكم العامّ فإذا سرّ¹² السماع بمراتبه مشتمل على
حقائق الأركان الخمسة فالصلوة والحجّ¹³ والشهادتان من
مراتب ظاهرة والصوم والزكوة¹⁴ من مراتب باطنة
وقد يحصل للإنسان في السماع من الكمالات ما لا
يحصل بالمواظبة على كثير¹⁵ من العبادات
وسادسها أنّ السماع يشتمل على الأحوال الكماليّة

1 P الفوالم. 2 B اللهية. 3-4 B ويدرك اسراراً ربانيّة. 4 B به.
5 P om. 6 P om. 7 P وجهي. 8 B الطاهر.
9 B يخرج. 10 P با الله. 11 P والتام. 12 P فسر هذا.
13 B والحج. 14 B والزكوة. P والزكاة. 15 P ما سواء.

الَّتِي هِيَ نَهَايَاتُ الْمَقَامَاتِ فَسَيْنُهُ وَمِيْمُهُ يَشِيرُ² إِلَى السَّمِّ
 يَعْنِي أَنَّ سَرَّ السَّمَاعِ كَالسَّمِّ يَمُوتُ³ الشَّخْصَ عَنِ التَّعَلُّقَاتِ
 الْغَيْرِيَّةِ وَيُوصِلُهُ إِلَى الْمَقَامَاتِ الْغَيْبِيَّةِ⁴ وَعَيْنُهُ وَمِيْمُهُ
 يَشِيرُ⁵ إِلَى مَعٍ⁶ يَعْنِي أَنَّ السَّمَاعَ يُوَصِّلُ⁷ الشَّخْصَ إِلَى
 الْمَعْيَةِ الْذَاتِيَّةِ الْإِلَهِيَّةِ⁸ قَالَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ لِي مَعَ اللَّهِ وَقْتُ
 لَا يَسْعَنِي فِيهِ مَلِكٌ مُقَرَّبٌ وَلَا نَبِيٌّ مُرْسَلٌ وَسَيْنُهُ وَمِيْمُهُ
 وَأَلْفُهُ يَشِيرُ⁹ إِلَى السَّمَاءِ لِيَشْمُرَ¹⁰ أَنَّ السَّمَاعَ يَصِيرُ¹¹
 الشَّخْصَ عَلَوِيًّا سَمَاوِيًّا وَيُخْرِجُهُ عَنِ الْمَرَاتِبِ السُّفْلِيَّةِ وَأَلْفُهُ
 وَمِيْمُهُ يَشِيرُ¹² إِلَى الْأَمِّ لِيَعْلَمَ¹³ أَنَّ صَاحِبَ السَّمَاعِ أَمٌّ كُلِّ
 مَنْ سِوَاهُ فَيَأْخُذُ الْمَدَدَ مِنَ الْغَيْبِ بِرُوحَانِيَّتِهِ وَيُفِيضُ¹⁴
 عَلَى مَا سِوَاهُ الْحَيَوَةَ¹⁵ وَالْعِلْمَ الْمَشِيرَ إِلَيْهَا¹⁶ كَلِمَةُ مَاءٍ¹⁷ وَعَيْنُهُ
 وَمِيْمُهُ تَشِيرُ¹⁸ إِلَى عَمٍّ¹⁹ أَيَّ يَعْمُ صَاحِبُ السَّمَاعِ بِرُوحَانِيَّتِهِ²⁰

¹ نهايه B.

² For gender and number of this verb, cf. Wright, *Grammar*, i, 181B ;
 ii, 297B.

³ P adds به.

⁴ P العبييه.

⁵ B يشير.

⁶ P معنى.

⁷ B يوصل.

⁸ P adds كما.

⁹ P om.

¹⁰ B تشير.

¹¹ P يشير.

¹² B يصير.

¹³ B يشير.

¹⁴ P adds من ذلك.

¹⁵ P ما.

¹⁶ P من روحانيته.

¹⁷ P adds الموجدات.

¹⁸ B الحياه.

¹⁹ P اليها, B لها.

²⁰ P ما.

²¹ P تشيران.

²²⁻²³ P ان صاحب السماع يزعم.

²³ P روحانيته.

العلويّات وبحياة قلبه الانسانيّات وبنور نفسه الزكيّة¹
 الجسمانيّات² وغير ذلك من الأحوال³ فإذا صاحب السماع
 يرتقي إلى المقامات العالية والنفحات⁴ الربّانيّة⁵ التي لا
 يصل إليها بألف اجتهاد وأكمل رياضات⁶ وفوائد السماع
 تبلغ إلى مائة فائدة ومائة ألف حال يحدها صاحب الذوق
 والوجد والبصيرة⁸ ولا ينكر السماع إلا أعمى القلب
 عديم النور كثير الحجاب غافلا عن الله تعالى⁹ مائلا إلى
 النفس والهوى قال الله¹⁰ تعالى وإذا سمعوا ما أنزل إلى
 الرسول ترى أعينهم تفيض من الدمع مما عرفوا من
 الحقّ يقولون ربّنا آمتنا فاكثبنا مع الشاهدين وما لنا لا
 نؤمن بالله وما جاءنا من الحقّ ونطمع أن يدخلنا ربّنا مع
 القوم الصالحين

الخاتمة في بيان كيفية السماع المعتبر عند الأولياء
 أرباب¹¹ الأحوال والمقامات لتحريك أرواحهم¹² إلى عالم
 القدس وتذكّارهم مقام الأنس

¹ الزكيّة. B² الجثمانيّة. P³ المراتب الغيبية. P⁴ والنفحات. P⁵ الرابيّة. B⁶ ما P adds⁷ رياضات. B⁸ واليقين. P⁹ B om.¹⁰ B om.¹¹ P أرباب.¹² P احوالهم.

فإذا أرادوا ذلك اجتمعوا ضحوة النهار¹ بعد الفراغ
 من صلوة الضحى² أو بعد³ العشاء⁴ بعد الفراغ من وردهم⁵
 قراءة كان أو ذكراً⁶ وأية⁷ عبادة⁸ كانت فإذا قعدوا⁹ قرأ¹⁰
 أرقهم صوتاً¹¹ مثل¹² وينجي¹³ الله الذين¹⁴ اتقوا بمغازتهم¹⁵ لا
 يمستهم السوء ولا هم يحزنون إلى قوله تعالى¹⁶ وكن من
 الشاكرين أو¹⁷ إن المتقين في جنّات وعيون آخذين¹⁸
 ما آتاهم ربهم إثم¹⁹ كانوا قبل ذلك²⁰ محسنين إلى
 قوله تعالى²¹ تنطقون أو²² والسماء بينها بائداً وإنّا
 لموسعون إلى قوله تعالى²³ ففرّوا إلى الله²⁴ إنني لكم
 منه نذير مبين أو²⁵ ألم تر أنّ الله أنزل من السماء ماء
 فتصبح الأرض مخضرة²⁶ إنّ الله لطيف خبير وأشبهه
 ذلك وفي الجملة²⁷ يقرأ آيات دالة على طلب الترقّي
 والازدياد والعناية والحماية²⁸ ثم يتكلّم²⁹ الشيخ على معنى³⁰

¹ P. نهار.²⁻³ P. الصبح.³⁻³ P. وبعد.⁴ P. adds من.⁵⁻⁵ B. وذكراً.⁶ B, P. واي.⁷ P. عبارة.⁸⁻⁸ P. وقرأ فوقهم صوتاً مثلاً.⁹ B. صوتاً.¹⁰ B. وينجي.¹¹ B. الدين.¹² P. بمغازتهم.¹³ B. om.¹⁴ P. لو قرأ.¹⁵ B. اخدين.¹⁶ B. ربهم.¹⁷ B. ذلك.¹⁸ B. om.¹⁹ B, P. ينطقون.²⁰ P. om.²¹ B. om.²² P. om.²³ P. om.²⁴ B. مخضرة.²⁵ P. الحكمة.²⁶ B. والحماية.²⁷ B. يتكلّم.²⁸ P. om.²⁹

هذه الآيات¹ بما² يليق بمقام السلوك فيقول قال رسول
الله صلى الله عليه وسلم إن للقرآن³ ظهراً⁴ وبطناً⁵ وحداً
ومطماً فظاهر هذه الآيات في الأكوان لأهل الاعتبار
وباطنها في الإنسان لأهل الكشف⁶ والأسرار⁷ فمعنى⁸
هذه الآية وينجى⁹ الله أي أنقذ¹⁰ الذين اتقوا
مراتب¹¹ النفس¹² والهوى وخرجوا عن الموانع من
الدفع¹³ والالتواء¹⁴ فنجام الله تعالى من التعلق بما سوى
الله¹⁵ والانجذاب¹⁶ إلى الله تعالى¹⁷ وقبول التعريفات
الإلهية من غير واسطة حيث قال¹⁸ الله تعالى¹⁹ واتقوا
الله ويعلمكم الله وكل عقولهم بالحكمة والمعرفة وكل
قلوبهم²⁰ بالأحوال²¹ والأذواق²² والمواجيد²³ وكل نفوسهم
بالأعمال الصالحة والأخلاق الزكية²⁴ لئلا²⁵ كل موجود
على مراد الله تعالى²⁶ ثم ردهم من الحق إلى الخلق²⁷ يستنقل
بواسطتهم آثار الصفات الإلهية²⁸ من الحياة والعلم

¹ B الآيات.² P ما.³ B طهراً.⁴ P الكشف.⁵ P في حق.⁶ B وينجى.⁷ B الأسرار، P يهدي الله.⁸ P امره.⁹ P النفوس.¹⁰ B الرفع، ¹¹ P adds تعالى.¹² P والانجذاب.¹³ B om.¹⁴⁻¹⁶ B om.¹⁵ B قلوبهم.¹⁶⁻¹⁸ B والأدوات والمواجيد.¹⁷ B الزكية.¹⁸ P فيجعل، ¹⁹ B om.²⁰⁻²¹ P تستنيل بباطنهم.²¹⁻²¹ P om.

إلى غيرهم فحين مفارقتهم الحضرة الألوهية²¹ بالعقل
والنفس وتعلقهم بما سوى الله تعالى¹ لرؤية آثار² أفعاله
وإكمال³ مراتب معقولاته لا يمستهم⁴ بهذا⁵ التعلق
العارض⁶ السوء⁷ أي بعد واحتجاب من الحضرة
الأحدية إذ هم مع الله⁸ بسرهم⁹ وروحهم ومع الخلق
بجستهم¹⁰ ونفسهم¹⁰ ولا هم يحزنون لعدم ذهاب ما عذهم
من المنازل والمقامات والأحوال

ويقول على المثل الثاني إن المتقين بترك ما سوى
الله¹¹ والانجذاب إليه سرًا وعلانية في جنات المعارف
والعلوم الغيبية¹² آخذين من الله ما آتاهم من التجليات
والتعريفات إنهم كانوا قبل ذلك أي¹³ في حال¹⁴ السلوك
والسير والطلب محسنين مع نفوسهم بالتزام الأحكام

¹ B om.² B آثار.³ P والكمال.⁴ P يتسهم.⁵ B بهذا.⁶ P العارضي.⁷ P الو.⁸ P الحق.⁹ P بربهم.¹⁰⁻¹⁰ P يحسبهم نفوسهم.

¹¹ B adds والا. It comes at end of a line. Presumably the scribe was beginning the next word, and found he had not enough room, but he makes no erasure.

¹²⁻¹² P اللدنيه وعيون العلوم العلييه.¹³ P om.¹⁴ P om.

والشرائع ومع عقولهم بالمداومة¹ على² الأفكار³ الصالحة
وفهم⁴ الأسرار⁵ التوحيدية

وعلى الثالث والسماء أي⁶ سماء الأرواح بنيناها أي⁷
أظهرناها⁷ من الغيب الإلهي⁸ إلى قضاء الوجود بأيدي⁹
أي بالقدرة والعلم والإرادة¹⁰ وإنا لموسعون¹⁰ مراتب¹⁰
الأرواح ليتجلى فيها من أنواع الأسرار التوحيدية¹¹
والمراتب الوجدية¹¹ والأرض أي¹² أرض¹³ القلوب¹⁴
النقية الطاهرة¹⁵ فرشناها أي بسطانها أرض القلوب¹⁵
ليظهر منها أنواع الحكم¹⁶ والمعارف¹⁶ والحلم¹⁶ واللطائف¹⁶
فنعم¹⁷ الماهدون أي بسطانها¹⁸ بسطا قدرياً¹⁹ لا حكيمياً¹⁹
ولهذا تحيط²⁰ بالوف²¹ من أنواع العلوم والمعارف ومن
كل شيء خلقنا زوجين²² أي²³ مثل الروح والجسد
والصورة²⁴ والمعنى والحسن والخلق وغير ذلك لعلكم

¹ P الواهب. ² P om. ³ B الاوکار. ⁴ B وفهم. P om.

⁵ P الاسرار. ⁶ P om. ⁷ B اظهرنا. P اظهرنا.

⁸ B الالهى. ⁹ P ايدي. ¹⁰⁻¹⁰ P وان المطمعون.

¹¹ P الواحدية. ¹² P om. ¹³ B اراضي. ¹⁴ B القلوب.

¹⁵ P om., B الظاهرة. ¹⁶⁻¹⁶ P om. ¹⁷ B فنعم.

¹⁸ B بسطنا. ¹⁹ B قدرياً. ²⁰ B يحيط. ²¹ P بالد.

²² B زوجين. P adds اثنين. ²³ P om. ²⁴ P والصوت.

تذكرون¹ أن رتبة الحكمة مشتملة على الأسباب
والمسببات ورتبة القدرة² ظهور³ الأشياء من غير واسطة
ففرّوا من الشهادة إلى الغيب ومن الأسماء إلى المسمي⁴
ومن الصفات إلى الذات ومن الفناء إلى البقاء

ويقول على المثل الرابع⁵ ألم تر بنظر البصيرة أن⁶
الله أنزل⁷ من سماء الأرواح مطر العلوم⁸ والمعارف على
أرض القلوب النقية الطاهرة⁹ من الميل إلى ما سوى الله⁸
فتصبح¹⁰ أرض القلوب¹¹ مخضرة¹² بأنواع العبادات
والتوجهات والأخلاق الرضية مثل الكرم والصفح¹³
والشفقة والتواضع¹³ والإيثار وغير ذلك

ثم يشرع القول¹⁴ بذكر كلام عرفاني وقول¹⁵
رباني¹⁵ مثل

لك¹⁶ في القلوب منازل ومقام لا العقل يدركها ولا الأفهام¹⁶
فإن قيل جعلت للحق تعالى¹⁷ منزلا ومقاما¹⁸ وذلك

¹ تذكرون B.

² المقدّر P.

³ ظهور B.

⁴ المسأ P.

⁵⁻⁵ B, P مثل الثالث.

⁶ P adds تعالى.

⁷ B أنزل.

⁸⁻⁸ P om.

⁹ B الظاهرة.

¹⁰ B فيصبح.

¹¹ B القلب.

¹² P here takes والشفقة والتواضع, misplacing from line below.

¹³⁻¹³ P om.

¹⁴ P القول.

¹⁵ P om.

¹⁶ P ل.

¹⁷ P om.

¹⁸ P مقامات.

تجسيم¹ قلنا إنما قيل كذلك² تمسكا³ بقول الشارع
الحكيم حين سئل⁴ أين الله في الأرض قال في قلوب⁵
عباده⁶ المؤمنين ومثل⁷

كلّ صبح وكلّ إشراق⁸ تبك⁹ عيني بدمع مشتاق
قد لست حية الهوى كبدي فلا طيب لها ولا راق¹⁰
إلا الحبيب الذي شغفت به فعنده رقتي¹¹ وترياق¹²

ومثل قوله¹³

قم بنا يا سعد نظوي اليد طي في ولاء الحب ألقاه إلي¹⁴
لي غرام في هواه عنّي لي حكم أحوال الصفا في كلّ حي
رمت محو الذات إجلالا له ليس وصف جامع إلا إلي¹⁵
قام بي كلّ المراتب دائما إنها أحكام فتح يا أخني¹⁶

¹ P تنبم. ² P adds معه. ³ B عسكا. ⁴ B سال. ⁵ B قلوب.

⁶ P om. ⁷ B ومثل P adds قوله. ⁸ P اشراق.

⁹ P تبكي, which is gramm. correct, but does not suit metre.

¹⁰ P راق. ¹¹ B رويت. ¹² P وترياق.

¹³⁻¹⁵ B om. At foot of page ومثل is written in corner to indicate that it is the first word of the next page, but it is omitted there.

¹⁴ I have included this poem because it is given in B, but it can hardly have been part of the original work, as it seems like a copy of the first poem in the *diwān* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ (576-632/1180-81-1234-5), who lived at a later period than the author of this work.

¹⁵ B مع. ¹⁶ B أحي.

لا يراني من له في نفسه حظّ فهم¹ في شمس الوجد في
 زادني حال الفنا في حبّه لا أبالي النشر² أو في حكم طي³
 كلّ أوصاف بدا في حكمه ذاك سرّ الجمع منكم أو إلي⁴
 يا أصحابي لماذا تنكروا حالي بعد اعتراف لي فتّي⁵
 أنصبتني في صفاء راحه مثل نصب الفعل نحو⁶ لام كي⁶
 جاءني بشري وصال بالبقا صاد آساد الوري هذا الطبي⁷

ومثل

علم الحقيقة علم كشف شامل لمراتب الأكوان والألوان⁸
 فإذا فئت عن التصرّ فاهما أدركت حكم حقائق الرحمان
 لا عقل للحظّ المحقّق كثرة من كنه وحدة ذاته المتان
 إن كنت قاصد فتح باب جامع حقق حقائق كون كلّ مكان

¹ B فهم.

² B النشر.

³ B علي. For the explanation of this change, see note on translation.

⁴ B بعد.

⁵ B اهرامي, but it might be read اعترافي with the dots omitted. اعترافي is impossible, as it breaks the metre. I have adopted اعتراف as it fits the metre with a very slight change from the MS.

⁶⁻⁸ B لا مري. The change is made following l. 21 of Ibn al-Fārid's poem. I am indebted to Professor R. A. Nicholson for this emendation.

⁷ B هذا.

⁸ This poem is also wanting in P.

ثمّ انسلخ عن رؤية¹ الصور التي منها جوامع صفوة الإيمان
فإذا رفعت لواء مجد شامخ ومحوت آثار الهوى وهوان
حققت حينئذ جوامع سرّه وفهمت وحدة وجهه² المنان

ومثل قوله

كلّ الوجود بفيض³ جودك⁴ ناطق وجمال وجهك⁵ في البصائر شارق
ونهاية العشاق في فلواتهم بدء⁶ المحبّ ومن حواه حقائق
لما بدأ⁷ من حكم سرّ جامع رفع الحجاب⁸ وذاك أمر⁸ خارق
جاء التجلّي من مقام صفاته ومحي فوائح ليس فيها طارق
أعطى لوائح¹⁰ مكرّمات ساطع آبت¹¹ إليه مغارب ومشارق
هذا الذي أظهرت من كنهه¹² الصفا

حقّ الحقيقة وهو سرّ فائق
أبكار خدر¹³ العشق وقت جلّائه شدّت¹⁴ على أوساطهنّ مناطق¹⁴
لا تطلب¹⁵ العرفان في آثاره والفتح^{17 16} رفع والفناء موافق¹⁷
بل رم كمال المحو في إجلاله ليكون¹⁹ قلبك منه فيه دوافق¹⁸

¹ رؤية. B

² وجهه. B

³ بفضل. P

⁴ جودك. B

⁵ وجهك. B

⁶ بل. P

⁷ بد. P

⁸⁻⁸ P من ذلك.

⁹ فيها. B

¹⁰ لوائح. P

¹¹ انت. P

¹² كنه. B

¹³ خدر. P

¹⁴ مناطق. B

¹⁵ بطلب. B

¹⁶ P om.

¹⁷⁻¹⁷ P رفعت والفناء.

¹⁸ P om. line.

¹⁹ ليكون. B

فإن وقع من¹ القوَال شعر¹ فيه وصف الخدّ والخال
والقدّ² حمل على خدّ النبيّ صلّى الله عليه وسلّم وخاله
وقدّه

وأما آلات الملاهي فكلّها³ حرام عند الجمهور
كالجنك والرباب⁴ والعود والبربط والمزمار وما أشبه ذلك
إلا الدفّ⁵ فإنه⁶ ورد في جواز سماع الدفّ حديثان
صحيحان في البخاريّ ومسلم فتبعه صلّى الله عليه وسلّم⁷
أصحاب الأذواق⁸

وشرط اجتماعهم أن لا يكون بينهم أمر د ولا طاقة
ينظر⁹ منها إليهم⁹ النسوان¹⁰ فإن حضر بينهم¹¹ من¹² المرد
الصلحاء قعدوا خلف¹³ الرجال¹⁴ فإذا وجدوا في باطنهم تحرّكا
تحرّكهم¹⁵ كحركة من دعي¹⁶ إلى خدمة¹⁷ ملك كبير القدر
والإقبال على الله تعالى¹⁸ لا يقوم صاحب وجدهم إلا بعد
الغلبة فيواقفه القوم ولا يتصنّع بالرقص ولا يتكلّف بل¹⁹

1-1 P الاقوال الشرعية. 2 P والصدغ. 3 B فكلها. 4 B والرباب.
5 B الدف. 6 P om. 7 B om. 8 P الارادات.
9-9 P اليهم منها. 10 P نسوان. 11 B دنهم. 12 P om.
13 B حلف. 14 B الرجال. 15 P فحركاتهم. 16 P ادعن.
17 P حرمة. 18 B om. 19 P om. *

تكون¹ حركاتهم بحكم الحال كغلوب من قلق أو²
اضطراب³ ضروري⁴ فإذا أخذت أرواحهم حظاً من
الأحوال الغيبية ورقت قلوبهم من الأنوار الذاتية
وتمكنت⁵ في الصفاء والأنوار الروحانية قعدوا والمزمزم
يزمزم زمزمة خفيفة⁶ لإخراجهم⁷ بالتدريج⁸ من الباطن
إلى الظاهر⁹ فإذا سكت⁹ قرأ¹⁰ غير القارئ¹⁰ الأول
مثل¹¹ هذا عطاؤنا فامنن أو أمسك بغير حساب إلى
قوله تعالى¹² أولي¹³ الأبواب¹⁴ أو إن¹⁴ الذين¹⁵ قالوا ربنا¹⁶
الله ثم استقاموا إلى قوله تعالى¹⁷ ذو حظ عظيم وما
أشبه ذلك فإن كان فيهم¹⁸ من بقيت فيه¹⁸ بقية حال
أو استغراق ثنى¹⁹ القول²⁰ في²¹ نحر أخف²² من الأول²²
فإن قعدوا²³ ثلث²⁴ في نحر²⁵ وسط بين²⁶ الثقيل²⁷
والخفيف²⁸ إذ²⁹ المراتب²⁸ الكلية ثلاث رتبة الإنسان

1 P تكون.

2-3 P واضطراب.

3 B ضروري.

4 B حظاً.

5 P تمكنت.

6 B حقيقة P خفيفة.

7 P لاختفائهم.

8 B بالتدريج.

9-9 P om.

10-10 P القارئ غير.

11 P om.

12 B om.

13 P أولو.

14-14 P وإن.

15 B الدين.

16 B ربنا.

17 B om.

18-18 P om.

19 P om.

20 P بين.

21 B من.

22-22 P بحر اللطف وأخف.

23 P من.

24 P فقدوا.

25 P ثبت.

26 P بحر.

27 P من.

28 B القيل.

29 B الخفف.

30 B إذا.

ورتبة الملك ورتبة الربويّة¹ وعندها السكون المطلق ثمّ³
 يقومون من محلّ السماع إلى منازلهم² ويقعدون³
 مراقبين⁴ لكشف ما لاح لهم⁵ حالة استغراقهم في
 الوجد⁶ فمنهم من يستغني أيّاماً بعد السماع عن الغذاء بما⁷
 تغدّيت⁸ أرواحهم وقلوبهم⁹ بالواردات¹⁰ الفييّة هذا
 طريق¹¹ القوم ولا ينكر لمثل هذه الأحوال من له أدنى
 حظّ من الدين والنور

ولمّا تأخّر الزمان¹² ساءحوا نظر¹² الذسوان الصلحاء¹³

اللاتي منهم إليهم من الطاقات وغير ذلك واجتماعهم
 بالمرء الصلحاء¹⁴ دون غيرهم ولم يزل كذلك إلى أن تشبّه
 بهم العوامّ واختلط¹⁵ الصالح بالطالح¹⁵ فاختلّ النظام
 فحينئذ يجب على كلّ أحد الأخذ بحاله وماله ويترك
 الغير كمن سكن بين¹⁶ المرضى فعليه الاشتغال بنفسه
 فقط وهكذا كان الدّين¹⁷ في أوّل الزمان غصّاً¹⁸ طريّاً¹⁹

¹ الربويه B.

² منازلهم P.

³ ويقعدون P.

⁴ مراقباً B P om.

⁵⁻⁶ ما لاح لهم من افشا الكشف P.

⁶ الوجد B.

⁷ الغدا P.

⁸ تغديت B P.

⁹ وقلوبهم B.

¹⁰ بالواردات B.

¹¹ طريق B.

¹²⁻¹³ ساوا فعل P.

¹³ الصلحاء P.

¹⁴ من الصلحاء P.

¹⁵⁻¹⁶ المصالح بالصالح P.

¹⁶ سن B ¹⁷ الذين P.

¹⁸ غصا P ¹⁹ طريّاً B.

متيناً¹ غير مشوب² بشيء من الاعتقادات الفاسدة
والآراء³ المضلة فكلما⁴ تأخر الزمان فسدت الاعتقادات
وكثرت الأعمال المضلة كما أخبر الشارع عن⁵ ذلك
بقوله ستفترق⁶ أممتي على ثلاث⁷ وسبعين فرقة الناجية
واحدة والباقي هلكي⁸ قيل⁹ يا رسول الله¹⁰ ومن¹⁰ الفرقة
الناجية قال ما أنا عليه وأصحابي

فوجب الآن على كل صاحب تقوى أن يلتزم
بما¹¹ هو الحق ويترك الباطل فكذلك السماع المستحب¹²
بين الأولياء ما¹³ ذكرنا وعند اختلاط الصالح بالطالح وجب
على كل صاحب ذوق ووجد¹⁴ أن يلتزم بالسماع بشروطه
الممكنة ولا ينزل عنه بقول منكر ومعاند فإن ذلك
يوجب ترك التشبه¹⁵ بالأولياء وحينئذ¹⁶ يخرج عن حكم¹⁷
قوله عليه السلام من تشبه بقوم فهو منهم
وأما الفقراء المنتسبون¹⁸ إلى هذه الطائفة وليسوا

1 مبنياً P.

2 منسوب P.

3 والآراء P.

4 فكلما B.

5 بنحو P.

6 ستفترق P.

7 ثلاثة P.

8 هلكاً P.

9-8 رسول B.

10 P adds هي.

11 بما P.

12 المستحب B.

13 وما P.

14 ووجب P.

15 التشبيه P.

16 وحيد B.

17 من P.

18 المنسوبون P.

منهم خالهم بالنسبة إلى الأولياء المتقدمين كحال فقهاء
الزمان بالنسبة إلى الفقهاء المتقدمين أصحاب الورع
والتقوى¹ وذلك أن قاعدة الفقه² تقتضى³ الزهد والورع⁴
والتقوى والقناعة باليسير من الدنيا وعدم طلب
الفضلات⁵ وعدم السعي⁶ إلى أبواب الملوك إلا لقضاء
حوائج الناس والمداومة على ما كان عليه النبي صلى الله
عليه وسلم⁷ وكان من دأبه صلى الله عليه وسلم⁷ أجوع
يوماً وأشبع يوماً وقالت عائشة رضي الله عنها ما شبع
رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم⁸ منذ قدم المدينة
خبر برفع قدرته صلى الله عليه وسلم¹¹ على
إضعاف التلذذات مع¹³ مسامحة الحق تعالى بذلك حيث
قال تعالى¹⁵ يَا أَيُّهَا الرِّسَالُ كُلُوا مِنَ الطَّيِّبَاتِ وَاعْمَلُوا
صَالِحًا وَعَدَمُ بِنَاءٍ مَا لَا يَحْتَاجُ¹⁹ إِلَيْهِ²⁰ لما ورد في الخبر²¹

¹ والتقوى B. ² حالهم P. ³ تقتضى B. ⁴ مطلب P.
⁵ الفضلات B. ⁶ السلوك P. ⁷⁻⁷ P om. ⁸⁻⁸ P om.
⁹ P خبر. ¹⁰ برمع P. ¹¹⁻¹¹ P repeats. ¹² اصناف P.
¹³ التلذذات B. ¹⁴⁻¹⁴ P ما كان مسامحا بحق الله. ¹⁵ P adds الله.
¹⁶ B om. ¹⁷ يا ايها P. ¹⁸ يا ايها B. ¹⁹⁻¹⁹ P منا.
²⁰ يحتاج B. ²¹ P om.

من بنى¹ فوق ما يحتاج² إليه كلفه الله³ أن يحمله⁴ على
كاهله والمواظبة⁵ على التواضع وهكذا كان علماء السلف
الصالح⁶

نقل عن أبي حنيفة رحمه الله أنه لما عرض عليه
الخليفة القضاء فأبى عن ذلك تمسكا بقوله عليه السلام
من جعل قاضيا فقد ذبح بغير سكين وبقوله عليه
السلام القضاء ثلاثة قاضيان في النار وقاض في الجنة
وهذا من ورعه ودينه وتمسكا بالحديث فلما حضر
بين يدي⁷ الخليفة وعرض عليه القضاء فأبى فعري
وضرب حتى ظهر أثر الضرب على ظهره⁸ وسال منه
الدم فشاور أصحابه فقالوا ما رأيت المصلحة فهو الحق وقال
أبو يوسف لا بأس بذلك فإن فيه نفع الناس فقال
كأنني مبكت قاضيا ثم دخل المنصور على أبي حنيفة⁹
وعزاه¹⁰ فيما فعل وقال هذا فقيه العراق ثم استدعاه

1 B ينس. 2 B يحتاج. 3 P adds تعالى. 4 B يحمله. 5 B المواظبة.

6 P om. Thereafter P finishes as follows: رضي الله عنهم اجمعين
ورضي عنا بهم وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد اشرف المرسلين وخاتم النبيين
[P النبيين] والمحمد لله رب العالمين ورضي عن آله وصحبه الطيبين
الطاهرين وأزواجه وذريته وأتباعه إلى يوم الدين والحمد لله رب العالمين
عزله B¹⁰. الخليفة B⁹⁻⁸. طهره B⁸. بن يدي B⁷⁻⁷.

وأمر له بدل كلّ جلدة بألف¹ درهم فقل إنّه ضرب
 خمسين سوطاً ثمّ عرض عليه² القضاء³ فقال لا أصلح له
 ثمّ عاد عليه فقال لا يخلو⁴ الأمر من أنّي صادق أم
 كاذب فإن كنت صادقاً فلا يجوز⁵ لك تولية من ليس
 بصالح له وإن كنت كاذباً فلا يجوز لك تولية الكاذب
 وهكذا نقل عن أبي الليث السمرقندي أنّه كان
 ورعاً محافظاً على الدّين حتّى قال منذ كذا سنة لم
 يكتب عليّ صاحب الشمال شيئاً بالنسبة أي علمه
 بمحافظته على الدّين وقد صحبه بعض الطّلاب خدمة
 وتعلّم مدّة ولم يسمع منه كلمة واحدة من الغيبة فإن
 شرع أحد عنده في الغيبة أطرق رأسه إعراضاً عنه
 ولا يواجهه⁷ بالمنع لئلا يتأذّى خاطره⁸ وقلبه وإن كان
 بالحق

وكذلك الإمام جمال⁹ الدّين المحبوني في بخارا¹⁰
 وكان فقيها زاهدا متورّعاً له وظائف¹¹ في العبادات

¹ الف B.² عليه B.³ القضا B.⁴ يخلو B.⁵ صالحاً B.⁶ يجوز B.⁷ يواجهه B.⁸ خاطره B.⁹ جمال B.¹⁰ بخارا B.¹¹ وظائف B.

البدنية والاشتغال بالعلم والتعلم لم يشتغل بأحد قط
 فإذا قيل له فلان سييئ العمل قال قال صلى الله عليه
 وسلم من حسن إسلام المرء تركه ما لا يعنيه وقال عليه
 السلام ابدأ بنفسك ثم بمن تعول فمن كانت نفسه
 ناقصة فلا يجوز¹ له الاشتغال بغيره

هكذا كان دأب الفقهاء المتقدمين وفقهاء هذا
 الزمان بخلاف ذلك فيهم الحرص والطمع والتردد إلى
 أبواب الملوك والتكلم في أعراض الناس ومداومة الغيبة
 قال عليه السلام الغيبة أشد من الزنا² وقال عليه السلام
 الغيبة أن تذكر أخاك بما³ يكره فقال رجل يرسول⁴ الله
 إن كان في أخي ما أقوله قال صلى الله عليه وسلم إن
 كان في أخيك ما تقول فقد اغتبته⁵ وإن لم يكن فقد
 بهته⁶ وقال صلى الله عليه وسلم لا تحاسدوا ولا تباغضوا
 ولا تدابروا وكونوا عباد الله إخوانا كل المسلم على كل
 المسلم حرام عرضه ودمه وماله وتحاسدهم وتباغض بعضهم
 بعضاً ومداومة الغيبة والتكلم⁸ في أعراض بعضهم بعضاً

١ يجوز. B. ٢ الزنا. B. ٣ بما. B. ٤ رسول. B. ٥ اغتبته. B.
 ٦ بهته. B. ٧ بعضاً. B. ٨ والكلم. B.

وعدم الحرص على تعلّم الشيء حقيقة بل قنع كلّ بقول غيره وليس له حرص على تعلّم الشيء حقيقة حقيقة المسألة وأصلها وكيفية استنباطها وتحقّق النصوص الدالة عليها والجواب عن المعارضات الواردة عليها وعدم احترام العلماء والصلحاء فظهر¹ بالأمور² الواقعة أنّ أفعال فقهاء الوقت وأمورهم وتفقههم³ بالنسبة إلى الفقهاء الماضين في تورّعهم واجتهادهم ودينهم كحال فقراء الوقت بالنسبة إلى الأولياء الماضين فإن لاموا الفقراء في عدم جواز⁴ سماعهم فإنهم ليسوا على شروط الأولياء الماضين⁵ يأتي لهم اللوم عليهم في عدم [تأثّر]⁷ ما كان عليه الفقهاء الماضين المتورّعين فإن لاموا الغير وأتوا بخلاف ما يجب عليهم توجّه⁹ في حقّهم لم تقولون ما لا تفعلون كبر مقتا عند الله أن تقولوا ما لا تفعلون [وقوله]¹⁰ تعالى أطيعوا الله وأطيعوا ربّه وبالبر¹¹ وتنسون أنفسكم

جوار B⁴. وتفقههم B³. بالأمور B². فظهر B¹.

بأتي B⁶. الماضين B⁵.

This word is very faint. All that appears looks like ناء.

الفعها B⁸. بوجه B⁹.

The MS. is badly marked at this point. All that appears of this word is له.

بالبر B¹¹.

ونختم الكتاب¹ بحمد الله وحسن توفيقه بحديث
بلغنا عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم أنه قال إذا
أمرتكم بشيء فأتوا منه ما استطعتم والله أعلم
تم الكتاب بحمد² الله الذي به تتم الصالحات
وتنزل البركات وبمشيئته كل السماعات ومن عنده
مقادير الموت والحياة والحمد لله وحده وصلى الله على
سيدنا محمد وعلى³ آله وصحبه وسلم

¹ الكتاب B.² بحمد B.³ وعلى B.

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